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THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY QUESTION IN IRELAND AND ENGLAND.

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THE Church in the United States is on the eve of establishing a Catholic university. The question has been so ably discussed in this REVIEW as to elicit the admiration of most competent judges abroad. The experiment is awaited with no ordinary interest. Much is expected from the Church in the United States. A glorious success is anticipated for the new university. Let us hope that our well-wishers abroad be not disappointed. In the meantime, let us cast a glance at what is being done by themselves in the same direction.

The Catholic University of Lille presents a most cheerful aspect. It is growing fast in numbers and influence. There is about it an air of that life and activity that make a university strong and permanent. It has now established, and in working order, five schools; namely,—the School of Arts, with six chairs; that of Medicine, with fifteen professors; that of Law, with thirteen; that of Science with nine, and the School of Theology. A school, called *des Arts et Metiers*, is also to be opened. It was offered to the Brothers of the Christian Schools; but they could not be prevailed upon to accept it, even though the influence of an eminent Cardinal was brought to bear upon the Superior. The schedule of lectures for

1877-'78, now before the writer, shows a rare degree of thoroughness in the treatment of the various subjects. This is especially the case in the important chairs of literature and history. In spite of M. Waddington's opposition, the university lives and flourishes. But it is of more importance to our readers in the United States to know something of the efforts made to establish universities in England and Ireland, and with these we will deal in the present essay.

I.

And first, a few remarks on the fact that the Church in every quarter of the globe so strenuously strives to establish Catholic universities. When a movement becomes so general, it must be for the satisfying of a real want. It implies that there are essential elements omitted in the present schemes of education which are open to all under the patronage of the State. The Church is no novice on the educational question. She has had too long experience not to know when to approve and when to censure. She taught the barbarian how to read; she preserved for him till he learned their use the literary treasures of antiquity; she built up for him the universities of mediæval times. It was under her guidance that the schools of Paris, Boulogne, Oxford, and Cambridge attained their maturity, and were crowned with that halo of lustre that hangs around them even to the present day. And now that these schools have passed out of her hands, and have ceased to do her work, in fact, refuse to recognize her as their foster-mother, she, nothing daunted, begins anew and lays the foundations of institutions which generations to come will regard with the same reverence with which we of the present regard her past works. Those who know not her untiring patience and her divine energy, in a word, those who regard her as a merely human institution, think her old and decrepit, and look upon all such efforts as the fancies of a paralyzed old age. But the Church is never old; she is as young and vigorous to-day as she was in the days of Hildebrand, and will be no less so a thousand years hence. She is the custodian of principles both of reason and revelation; and principles are unchanging. With the progress of time, views and opinions and systems are born, become mature and die, to be replaced by others; but with these she does not identify herself. When they are the outcome of the principles placed in her keeping, she fosters them; when they contradict those principles she opposes them, and holds it her duty to call the attention of all to what is of truth, pure and simple. Now, as thought is ever active, so too it is ever developing, and in its onward march it partakes of a distinct coloring in each successive age. The fancy, the opinion, the spirit of each period

will scatter among the seeds of truth the tares of error. To root up and suppress these tares is part of the Church's mission; and as they vary with each epoch, so will her means of destroying them vary. A doctrinal error is broached; she holds an Ecumenical Council to define the truth opposed to that error. A baneful spirit is afloat, threatening the faith and morals of her children; she encourages religious organizations with a spirit and scope directly opposite. And so, at the present day, secular education is to her mind becoming intolerant of all religious teaching and religious influence, and forthwith she makes every effort, and her children grudge no sacrifice, to establish schools upon a religious basis. But she knows her efforts will only be partially successful unless she has control of education in its highest phasis. Therefore she desires to see a Catholic university in every country containing Catholics enough to support one.

The functions of such a university are many and important. Therein may the children of the Church be grounded in reasons for the faith that is in them; therein may they leisurely and effectively co-ordinate all her doctrines, and note the points at which each touches the other, and see their harmonious relations as a whole; therein may they learn to reconcile scientific truths with the teachings of revelation; therein may be moulded the minds of the tutors and professors for the elementary and intermediate schools; and thus may its beneficial effects be felt in the remotest corner of the country in which it is established, and in time tell upon the humblest Catholic. It moulds intellectual action into a united whole; it creates an *esprit de corps*; it infuses new vigor into the thinking of educated Catholics. Nor is this last the least benefit; for at present, among our educated Catholic laity there is a deplorable absence of mental vigor. They lack that inquisitive spirit, that literary enterprise, that taste for solid reading and good composition, all of which are chiefly sustained by the members of society who have had a non-Catholic education. A gentleman once remarked to the writer that the most thoughtful and studious readers he met in the public libraries of New York were Jews. Now if our Catholic youths are found in a great measure to lose all interest in study on leaving college, the fact is due to their not having continued long enough to become really interested in their subjects. Two or three years of deeper and more prolonged study in a university would have reversed their case, and made them as fond of earnest thought as they are now averse to it. Here is another and, as we shall see later on, a chief reason for a Catholic university.

But a university is not the work of a day. It is only through difficulties that it can labor into existence. It must have large and

expensive buildings; it must fee eminent professors; it must gather together a good library; it must have scientific cabinets and museums; it must possess a goodly store of chemical and philosophical apparatus. All this involves large expense. Therefore, to begin with, a university must have considerable endowment. Then it is an institution of slow growth. The nature of the studies pursued, and the advanced age at which young men are prepared to pursue them, render the attendance comparatively small. At most, they are few who have the leisure to fit themselves for a university training, and pass through its curriculum, or having the leisure possess also the means, or with both combine taste and inclination. For this reason, a university in its beginning is not a paying institution. It must be a burden upon any body of men starting it. Only after years of work, hard, earnest, sincere, often thankless, when its alumni will be able to speak for it, and its necessity shall have imperceptibly grown upon the people, will it begin to stand on its own basis. But first, it must work out a name, position, and prestige for itself. These achieved, men will wonder how their ancestors could ever have gotten on without such an institution. All honor, then, to those generous souls who bear the burden and heat of the day, and in silence labor hard in laying the foundations of institutions, the success of which theirs will not be the lot to catch a glimpse of. Of the two efforts now being made in Ireland and England, much may be learned from a consideration of the difficulties through which they are struggling, and the obstacles, both from within and without, that have been placed in their way.

II.

It is now nearly three decades of years since the hierarchy of Ireland undertook to establish a Catholic university. They began possessing nothing, but they were backed by a generous people, who appreciated their efforts. Long and loudly had they been knocking at the doors of government for a Catholic educational system for their flocks, but with very little success. They asked for bread, and they received a stone. They asked for the primary schools for their poorer children, and the national school system was given them. The demands for higher education became imperative, and the Queen's colleges were foisted on them; these did not suit, for it was plain that they were simply means of proselytism. Catholic Ireland did not want a godless or a Protestant system of education. Her faith had cost her too much to barter it away for a feed of intellectual husks. She was prepared to bear this additional injustice. She who had abandoned titles, power, wealth, education, life itself when necessary, rather than forfeit the least

jot or tittle of this precious article, could now afford to pay taxes for an education she could not take advantage of; nay, she could even maintain, in addition, a university college, with a corps of professors, as she has been doing for the last twenty-seven years.

While leaving affairs in this condition, England is not dealing honestly by Ireland. It is the right and duty of a government to see that its subjects are well provided for, intellectually as well as physically. To neglect doing so, were to be wanting in one of the most primary obligations it owes its subjects. Therefore, government is obliged to see that the nation's children are properly educated; but the parent has also a right and duty on which the government cannot lawfully infringe. If it is for one to say that the child must be educated, it is for the other to name the kind of education the child is to receive.¹ It is, for example, a violation of a sacred right when the State compels the child of a Jewish parent to receive a Christian education, or that of a Christian to receive a Moslem training. The only condition required of the parent is that the education he determines upon for his child be in nowise opposed to the welfare of the State. Should it be so opposed, it is the duty of the State to place a restraining check, and insist upon the child's receiving no such training. It may go farther, and withdraw the child altogether from parental influence. It was on this principle that Lord Eldon decided upon taking Shelley's children by his first wife from his custody, on account of his atheistic, and antisocial theories. Applying these principles, it follows that the English government was not only justified in presenting its Irish subjects with the means of education; it was simply fulfilling a duty. But in no sense can it be justified in imposing on them educational establishments to which in conscience they were utterly opposed. Assuredly in this day of tolerance, England must know that nothing is to be apprehended from Catholicity; she has not yet to learn that a Catholic subject can be as loyal as a Protestant; she knows it, she is convinced of it. When, not long ago, a great politician attempted to cover his defeat in politics by flinging in the face of his Catholic countrymen this very accusation, the whole obloquy he had prepared for others recoiled on his own head, and he stands to-day, amid the shifting scenes of events, lonely and restless, writing down and living down a reputation, a power, and a prestige that few of England's statesmen ever enjoyed. We must, therefore, regard it as a piece of jugglery unworthy of the dignity and destructive of the good faith that ought to belong to a great government such as England's is, when we see it transmute Irish taxes into an educational network, with which to ensnare

¹ Unde oportet quod etiam leges imponantur hominibus secundum eorum conditionem — Summa S. Thomas, P. I., 2 q., xcvi., art. 2.

Irish youth into a system of thought and opinion opposed to the most cherished interest of Catholic Ireland. Fortunately, Whately's arch design of Protestantizing Ireland by means of the national schools has been in a great degree changed into a blessing. The whole system is now so modified that it may be rightly called a denominational system. In the North of Ireland each denomination has its own school, supplied by its own teachers, and visited by its own minister. In the South, which is almost totally Catholic, the priest has full control over the schools. The teacher objectionable to him is always, on sufficient grounds, removed by the School Board. The children are daily instructed in their catechism; they are visited regularly by their pastor; their moral and religious training is carefully looked after. This pastoral supervision is recognized and approved of by the board; it is through the pastor's hands that the teacher receives his salary. The writer knows not what local grievances on the subject may exist, but he has been assured by several zealous clergy that the national schools under their control are all that need be desired; that they are in fact neither more nor less than parish schools. The present modifications were brought about by the combined action of Catholics and Protestants. But for want of similar unanimity the Queen's colleges still retain their secular character. Strange inconsistency, the Presbyterians, who were foremost in denouncing the godlessness of the national schools in the first stage of their existence, in 1849 gave their approval to the Queen's colleges, and permitted the students of their theological seminary to attend classes in that of Belfast. But not many years will elapse before they find out their mistake. It is already generally recognized by those who are best acquainted with the Queen's colleges, that they are, even as mere institutions of secular instruction, a failure. Their medical diplomas are a byword of contempt. Their academic degrees are no better than high school certificates. In 1857, a commission of inspection sat upon these colleges. In the printed report of this commission, President Berwick, of Galway, confesses that the university does little more than the work of a high school, and that eight out of ten of the students matriculating would be rejected were the examination up to the proper standard.¹ Nor did matters

¹ MR. GIBSON.—You have stated that the preparation of the students who present themselves for matriculation is such that if you regarded their fitness to enter on the present curriculum, *you would be obliged to reject eight out of ten.* Am I, therefore, to infer that the college under present circumstances can do little more than perform the part of a high school?

PRESIDENT BERWICK.—That is the case with regard to classical subjects, although what I say on this point is principally restricted to this college. I have heard that the students come very badly prepared in classics to all the colleges.—Report of the Queen's Colleges Commission, and Minutes of Evidence annexed, 1858.

seem to improve much after an interval of ten years. In 1868, D'Arcy Thompson, Professor of Greek in the same institution, revealed to an astonished Boston audience its crude workings. "During the last three years," said this *naïve* professor, "I have had in the management of an alpha-beta class one-fourth part of my professional duties."¹ The character these colleges possessed in '68 of giving but a most superficial education, they still retain in '78.

But were they all that was to be desired concerning secular instruction, they would only be the more objectionable to the Catholic heart of Catholic Ireland. For this reason the hierarchy took the initiative, and started the Catholic University of Dublin. They placed at its head the man who, of all other men living, was best suited for the position. Himself the product of university training, and thoroughly imbued with the traditions and customs of university life, John Henry Newman brought to the good work a love for it and a zeal for its success, and a joy in fulfilling the duties attached to his office, and a knowledge of its requirements, that could only belong to a child of a university. When his change of faith compelled him to quit his beloved Oxford, it is well known that leaving its venerable piles was the greatest of earthly pangs to him. It would have been a consolation to him were there a similar Catholic institution to which he might have passed. But there was none. He tells us himself this was one of his first thoughts: "When I became a Catholic, one of my first questions was, 'Why have not our Catholics a university?'"² In his humility it never occurred to him that his was the task to take from the Catholics of England and Ireland that reproach. His modesty shrank from such an assumption. He is a perfect type of university training in its highest form. Sensitive to a degree, retiring in his habits, shrinking from before the world's gaze, abhorring notoriety, he blends in himself the qualities of the ascetic and the man of liberal culture, the patience of the schoolman and the elegance of the gentleman. Precise in his statement of facts and principles, exhaustive in his treatment of a subject, he possesses the rare power of being at the same time both accurate and eloquent in his writings. His individual traits of character are such as qualify him in an eminent degree to have communication with youths. His personal influence is irresistible.³ All embarrassment vanishes

¹ *Wayside Thoughts*. Essays read at the Lowell Institute, Boston.

² *Idea of a University*, p. 483.

³ Speaking of this great man in another connection, the writer made use of the following words, the reproduction of which he deems not out of place in the present sketch of him:

"Let me place before your minds a living example of this power of thinking, that you

before his gentleness and condescension and beautiful manners. But it were doing him an injustice to represent him as all kindness and meekness. He is also strong. His very amiability grows out of his strength. Where principle is concerned he is firm as a mountain. This gentle nature can, when needs be, tear the mask from an Achilli and lay bare the viciousness of his heart; this timid soul will sacrifice its most cherished feelings when the honor of the Catholic clergy is impugned, and in their defence unbosom itself and place before the world its most secret thoughts, while it covers Charles Kingsley with the confusion belonging to his own cobweb

may in admiration, and at a distance, and each in his own sphere, follow in his footsteps. His word carries weight wherever the English language is known. His name is revered by all classes and creeds; and it is so because he is thoroughly honest in the expression of his convictions. He does not understand the art of special pleading; he has never learned the trick of covering up disagreeable truths or removing out of sight a fact calculated to tell against him. Endowed with one of the most acute intellects ever bestowed upon humanity, well disciplined by severe study and profound meditation, it was his delight to grapple with difficulties. That mind so ingenious and searching never rested till it found the basis of an opinion or struck the central idea of a system. It is often to me a source of wonder how much patient, earnest thought he must have brought to bear upon an idea before he could see it in so many lights, view it in such different relations, and place it before the mind in all the nakedness of truth. But this is one of the characteristics of great thinkers, and such pre-eminently is John Henry Newman. It is now scarcely three months since I met him in the bare, modest parlor of the Birmingham Oratory. I thought the very simplicity of that parlor was in keeping with the greatness of the man. Tinsel, or decoration, or an air of worldliness would have jarred with the simple unassuming ways of the noble soul I met there. He had then lately returned from his beloved Oxford, where his old Alma Mater, Trinity College, did itself an honor and him an act of tardy justice in inducting him as Honorary Fellow. This veteran knight of natural and revealed truth looked old and worn; his hair was blanched; his features were furrowed with the traces of age. His manners were gentle and condescending. His voice was soft and beautiful in its varied modulations, now serious, now playful, according to the nature of the subject he spoke upon. With the most exquisite tact he listened or placed his remark as the case required. There was a charm in his conversation. As it flowed along placid and pleasant, his countenance glowed with a nameless expression, his eyes sparkled, and he spoke with all the strength and clearness of a man whose intellectual vigor is still unimpaired. I was not half an hour in his presence when I felt the spell of that irresistible personal influence which he swayed through life, whether it was within the walls of Oriel, or from the Protestant pulpit of St. Mary's, or in the retirement of the Oratory. I then understood the power that shook the Anglican Church to its very basis three and thirty years ago. Though endowed with the delicate sensibility of the poet, John Henry Newman never permits sentiment or feeling, or inclination or confirmed habit, to control or divert the severe logic of his noble reason. When, for instance, he found himself drifting towards the Catholic Church, he hastened not to enter, however much his feelings and the workings of grace prompted him. He held aloof till reason had constructed her last syllogism and inference drawn her last conclusion. And God respected the earnest endeavor and crowned it with the grace of conversion. I repeat it, it is this strict and chivalric adherence to truth at all times and under all circumstances that has won him the profound respect and admiration of Christendom. He disciplined his mind into the habit of seeing things as they are, and of expressing them as he sees them, till it has become an impossibility for him to do otherwise."—Address delivered at the Rock Hill College Commencement, June 24th, 1878.

sophistries; this amiable character can allay the religious storm a Gladstone would raise, and at the same time administer a deserving rebuke to that class of theologians who would impose on men more articles of faith than the Church herself.

Such was the first Rector of the Irish Catholic University. He assumed his position with a full sense of the responsibility attached to it, a just appreciation of the work he had to do, and a true estimate of the character and intellect of the youth with whom he had to deal. "It too often happens," says he, "that the religiously disposed are in the same degree intellectually deficient; but the Irish ever have been, as their worst enemies must grant, not only a Catholic people, but a people of great natural abilities, keen-witted, original, and subtle. This has been the characteristic of the nation from the very early times, and was especially prominent in the middle ages. As Rome was the centre of authority, so, I may say, Ireland was the native home of speculation."¹ Thus it was he came among the Irish youth no stranger to their merits or their defects, and set his shoulder to the work in good earnest. In addition to the regular classes in the departments of arts and medicine, he opened evening classes for the young men of Dublin. He inaugurated a course of lectures for the people. He started the *University Gazette*, with the object of educating young and old into the spirit and workings of a university system, and contributed to it himself some of his happiest short compositions upon education in many of its phases and stages. He matured and evolved that admirable course of lectures on university education, considered in itself and in its various relations to the human intellect, to science, and to revealed truth, and in the *Idea of a University* left the world a classic which it will not willingly let perish. He gave a tone to the institution, and the halo of his great name threw around it a lustre which shone far and wide. Students from the Continent began to assemble there, as was customary with Continental students when Ireland was the sanctuary of all the learning of Europe in the early part of mediæval times. For a moment it seemed as though the university started by Cardinal Cullen and his brother bishops in 1851, with the approval of Pius IX., was to resume the thread of that started by Archbishop Leach in 1311 under the sanction of Clement V. But Dr. Newman resigned in 1858, after having conferred lasting honor upon the Rectorship of the Catholic University of Ireland.

Since then, the university has been on the wane, and the visitor to the institution will see, as the writer saw, little more than vacant rooms and empty benches. There is only a handful of students. It

¹ *Idea of a University*, p. 485.

is a burden upon the people. They receive little or no results for the annual sum of about £5000 which they contribute towards its support. The medical department has fared better. It is considered a complete success—thanks to the self-sacrificing zeal and devotedness of one of the great lights in the medical profession, Dr. Hayden. But it is the school of arts that gives to a university “a local habitation and a name,” and that, in the present instance, so far as the writer could learn, both from actual observation and from hearsay, is little better than “airy nothing.”

This failure is due to no lack of duty on the part of the professors; some of them have a world-wide reputation in their several departments. The blame is to be laid rather at the door of the British government, which continues to refuse a charter to the new university. The young men in Ireland who, as a rule, attend a university, make it simply a stepping-stone to those professions requiring a university degree. So, while the Catholic university is without a charter, it is to be looked for that it remain unfrequented. Time and again have the clergy and laity of Ireland united in petitioning the redress of this grievance, and as often have they been refused. In 1868 there were hopes that something might be wrested from the ministry in power. Negotiations were carried on by Lords Mayo and Malmesbury, on the part of the government, and the late Archbishop of Cashel, and the Bishop of Clonfert, on the part of the hierarchy and people; but it was evident the government was only coquetting. Mr. Gladstone's efforts in 1873 were more sincere; but neither did they suit. Mr. Fawcett's bill was still more objectionable. In the Parliamentary session of last winter the Irish members made a gallant but hopeless fight upon the issue. The refusal of Lord Beaconsfield to receive the deputation from Dublin on the question, shows decidedly the mind of the present ministry to be in no sympathy with it. And still the *London Times*, in a late issue, says: “It cannot be denied that the small proportion of Roman Catholics in Ireland receiving university education is a fact to be regretted, and, if possible, to be amended.”¹ It is here only re-echoing the opinion of every thinking member, be his creed or nationality what it may. The great difficulty lies in finding a remedy for the evil. Here opinion varies. Some are for “levelling up,” others in favor of “levelling down.” Mr. Butt advocated the creation of a Catholic college within the University of Dublin; the O'Connor Don thinks “that it would tend more to the promotion of learning to let each body work out its own system after its own fashion.”² Mr. Lowe advocates “an Irish university, which should be simply an examining body like the Uni-

¹ *Times*, Saturday, June 1st, 1878. ² Speech reported in *Times*, June 4th, 1878.

versity of London, disposing, however of a considerable number of prizes for successful study, without regard to the place or character of instruction."¹ But the British Parliament in its present temper is not disposed to endow an exclusively Catholic institution; neither is the time ripe for the disendowment of Trinity College, or the creation of a Catholic college under its charter, while Mr. Lowe's favorite proposition does not cover the claims of the Catholics. Thus it is that all the proposals so far made seem at present impracticable. It would be presumption in the writer to offer any suggestions on a measure against which a powerful ministry was dashed into fragments, and which for thirty years has occupied the minds of those most deeply interested in Ireland's welfare. But it should be remembered that politics deals rather with the expedient than with the absolutely right and just. It is impossible for a small minority to get at once the full measure of their rights. They must be secured piecemeal. Both parties expect and require mutual concession. The decision with which Parliament refused to consider the university question, voting against it with a majority of 200 to 67, shows how difficult it is to redress the grievance. Before getting a serious hearing the claims based upon it must be reduced to a minimum. Even important details must be sacrificed, leaving to time and experience to supply any shortcomings. Of course no jot of principle is to be yielded. The great want should be kept in view, and that is a chartered school with university powers, controlled by an exclusively Catholic corporate body. Under all circumstances the government will require that the lay element in the Senate be strong, as a guarantee that the university endowment be not applied to the mere promotion of ecclesiastical studies. Nor need any fear be apprehended from such an arrangement. A good Catholic layman, acting under the advice of his bishop, may even be more efficient than the bishop himself. If the writer were asked what course he would recommend, he would advise the taking up of negotiations where Lord Mayo dropped them,—the concession of the chancellorship by the cardinal to a layman,—and the not-insisting upon having all the bishops members of the Senate. In the course of time such modifications might be introduced as would make matters more satisfactory. Only let justice begin to have way, and all the wants and deficiencies will soon be supplied. In the meantime, for some years to come, in spite of effort and agitation in Parliament, and out of it; in spite of the crying injustice and the evident want, a Catholic university in Catholic Ireland will continue to be a question.

¹ Times Editorial, June 1st.

III.

About four years ago the Catholic prelates of England started the beginning of a university in South Kensington. The placing of it in London was by way of experiment. The location of such an institution calls for serious thought ; it ought to be central and easily accessible ; it ought to be commodious and retired ; it ought to shelter the students from all baneful sources of distraction. It is difficult to combine these advantages in a great metropolis. But then, a new and struggling college has so few resources of its own to begin with, in the shape of cabinets, museums, chemical and philosophical apparatus, and a library of rare and valuable editions and standard authors, that without access to these the students are thrown almost exclusively upon their text-books, and the dicta of their professors. This defeats one of the main objects of a university education, which is not so much to impart book knowledge as, under the guidance of representative exponents of modern thought and modern science, to discipline the mind into habits of correct thinking, and accustom the senses to accurate observation. The history of universities goes to show that university influence and university education are emphatically the outcome of a personal abiding intellectual superiority. Their greatness rose in consequence of the renown of one or more great men within their walls. Around these, students gathered and hung on their lips, and imbibed their spirit, and learned their methods, and with loving care continued their work long after their tongues had ceased to speak or their pens to write. No mere system of teaching, however perfect ; no amount of special reading, however thorough ; no body of examiners, however severe their method and elevated their standard, can supply the place of the living voice and the living influence, comparing, observing, criticizing, co-ordinating in the presence of the student, and teaching him how to do the same. Therefore, it is of primary importance that a university have abundant resources of its own, or be within reach of those outside. And this is the great advantage of London. To the observant student residence there is in itself a university education. Almost every spot in it is classic ground. Literary traditions hover everywhere. Then there are the inexhaustible wealth of the British Museum, the lectures at the Royal Institution, and so many other excellent and unique sources of information. As an offset to these advantages, the grounds in London must necessarily be limited, the sources of distraction are numerous, and there is the further all-important consideration of danger to the morals of young men in this overgrown Babylon. Thus it is that the question of location is as difficult as it is important.

It has been announced that a change in the rectorship of the Catholic University College has taken place, and there is rumor that in consequence, though not for the present, the location will also be changed.¹ This implies that the university is about entering on a new phase of existence. Its first has passed into history, and as such let us treat it. The residence of the rector and the home of several of the students was Cedar Villa. It is one of the most retired and beautiful spots in London. It was the former residence of Sothorn, of Lord Dundreary notoriety. The square on the opposite side of the road was occupied by the university buildings. There was the temporary chapel, in which everything spoke of good taste, and in which the Reverend Rector expounded lucidly and beautifully the great truths of religion. There the reading-room, well stocked with all the leading periodicals of the Old and New Worlds. There the recreation-rooms, furnished with various sources of amusement. There the different classes and lecture-rooms. There was the room in which Professor Paley used to make a difficult passage in Plato or Eschylus as interesting as a fairy tale. And it is needless to say that sponge in mid-ocean is not more thoroughly saturated with sea-water than is Professor Paley with the spirit of Grecian and Roman antiquity. No weightier authority lives when there is question of a Latin or Greek text. There was the scantily-furnished laboratory, in which Professor Barff worked and lectured. There the little chemical stove, in which he made one of the greatest discoveries of the age, a process by which iron may be preserved from rust. This discovery places Professor Barff among the advanced scientists of the day. There was the cabinet in which Dr. Mivart used to lecture to his students. It was a model of classification. There was nothing useless. Every specimen of the various forms of life had a place in his lectures on biology. In that obscure region in which science and theology meet, Dr. Mivart stands alone to-day in England one of the few opponents for whom Darwin and Huxley have a respectful word, and whom they regard as an authority. He combines the acuteness of the metaphysician with the painstaking accuracy of the scientist. Everything was modest and on a small scale in this first effort. But the start was made in the right direction. The students were brought face to face with the issues of the day under the leadership of such distinguished veterans as those named, and others not less efficient in their own spheres. The rector who concentrated so

¹ His Eminence has issued the following circular to each student of the University:

"In order to prevent any misunderstanding as to the next Term or Terms of the University College, I have thought it well to inform you that no change will for the present be made, by which the attendance of the students now belonging to the College can be affected."

many brilliant lights into this focus was worthy of his position, and the wisdom of His Eminence Cardinal Manning in placing Mgr. Capel there was patent. The Monsignore's is a name of world-wide repute. Who does not recognize the Mgr. Catesby of Disraeli's *Lothair*? He was eminently qualified to succeed. Possessed of native shrewdness, knowing the world thoroughly, clever in his dealings with persons, he has rare tact and readiness. He seems inexhaustible in his resources when there is question of doing good. His zeal for souls is boundless. His activity borders on the fault of being overactive. He is a man of great personal magnetism and a favorite with all. The poor look up to him as their friend; the rich esteem it an honor to rank him among their acquaintances. He possesses in an eminent degree those popular English qualities of polished manners and a highly cultivated mind. His views are broad, and he has the rare gift of being tolerant of opinion when it differs from his own.¹ A man endowed with such varied and excellent qualities of head and heart is calculated to exercise a permanent influence for good upon young men. And it is a source of gratification to know that if his connections with the university are severed, there remains for him a no less important field of labor in the strengthening and extending the usefulness of the Kensington Catholic Public School, and realizing the pet project he entertains of making it a Catholic Eton.

A university college beginning under such bright auspices, and containing within its precincts so many and such representative men, was worthy of the confidence and patronage of the English Catholic nobility and gentry. It did not possess a charter, but students requiring a degree for professional purposes could procure one upon examination from the London University, even as the students of the Jesuits' College of Stonyhurst and those of the Christian Brothers' College of Clapham are in the habit of doing.²

¹ It may interest the reader to peruse Lord Beaconsfield's introduction of Mgr. Capel, now that *Lothair* is fast becoming a forgotten book:

"Catesby was a youthful member of an ancient English house, which for many generations had, without a murmur, rather in a spirit of triumph, made every worldly sacrifice for the Church and court of Rome. For that cause they had forfeited their lives, broad estates, and all the honors of a lofty station in their own land. Reginald Catesby, with considerable abilities, trained with consummate skill, inherited their determined will and the traditionary beauty of their form and countenance. His manners were winning, and he was as well informed in the ways of the world as he was in the works of the great casuists."—*Lothair*, chap. xv.

² Out of four hundred candidates that passed in the London University examinations last June, fifty-two were from Catholic colleges. Of these, sixteen were from St. Cuthbert's College, Ushaw. This is regarded as decidedly the best Catholic college in the three kingdoms. That only one passed out of the four who went up for examination from the Catholic University College, is not to be wondered at, for a new institution must necessarily begin on a low scale.

Though possessed of all these advantages, the Catholics of England seem not to appreciate the work. They are not educated up to a sense of its necessity. "Nor are Protestants," remarked an eminent thinker on the writer's repeating this remark, "alive to the necessity of university education in this higher sense. They attend Oxford not so much for educational purposes as on political grounds. They make acquaintances and form associations while there, and these same associates they meet in after-life, whether at the bar or in Parliament, not as strangers, but as old friends renewing former relations. They have not to struggle for years to get a recognition; they settle down to their proper place at once." No doubt it is this temporary advantage that induces Catholic parents to withhold their patronage from the new university. But it should be regarded as a mere trifle when weighed against the many superior educational advantages to be derived therefrom, especially that greatest of all, the strengthening of the faith in their children.

It is not Catholics alone who are or ought to be interested in the success of a Catholic university. It is also of the highest import to Protestants desirous of retaining their Christianity. Its professors would give the proper clues for the combating of antichristian theories and the right understanding of the new departures of science in their relations with revealed religion. It may thus become an impregnable bulwark against the attacks of irreligion. A Protestant gentleman in presenting the new university college with a geological cabinet, remarked to Mgr. Capel that he did so, not so much because it was a Catholic institution, as because he regarded it, in the course of time, as the only university in which Christianity would be taught. Nor did he exaggerate its importance. While Cambridge and Oxford were exclusive, there was a certain concert of action among their professors, and a certain amount of positive Christianity was inculcated and preserved. But since they have grown Liberal and thrown open their doors to all comers, this unity of purpose is lost, tolerance has degenerated to indifferentism, Hegel and Herbert Spencer have grown more important than Aristotle and Bishop Butler, and the study of philosophy is reduced to an historical criticism of systems, without principles to hold by or a criterion to judge with. Such a course leads only to confusion and the bewilderment of the student's brain. If he is thoughtful, it lands him into complete skepticism concerning the truth of philosophy; if not, it leaves him with a disgust for books and study, and his mind a wreck so far as right or methodical thinking is concerned. "It is noticeable," says Dr. McCosh, "that those who are trained simply in historical disquisitions are often superlatively ignorant of human nature, and may be led to follow the most absurd

theories."¹ So long as the study of methods remains the fashion of the day, we thus see that there are small hopes for religion's receiving any assistance from philosophy. Now, it is only in a study of principles that true philosophy is found, and for these we must look to Catholic teaching. And though philosophy belongs neither to one form of religion nor another, still it is only in the Catholic schools that the right understanding of the scholastic philosophy is to be found. And it is only in the scholastic philosophy that the truths and principles exist, by means of which modern sophistries are to be refuted. But to be effective, that philosophy must be reconstructed and translated, so to speak, into a more modern terminology. What St. Thomas did for the philosophical vagaries of his day, must be done for those of ours. A new citadel of defence must be constructed to meet the modern modes of warfare, and from a new Catholic university must issue the sappers and miners to construct such a citadel, one worthy the age they live in and the truth they defend.

And these are times when it behooves every lover of truth to put forth his whole strength in its defence. There ought to be no laggard. Whoever has a timely word to say should say it, and say it in the best and most forcible manner. The day of folios and treatises is past. The short pamphlet and the brilliant lecture and the sprightly essay are the only things men have either time or patience to read. The opponents of religion are alive to the fact, and monopolize as far as they can the periodical literature of the day. They seize upon and utilize every magazine and review not committed to a definite line of thought. George Eliot attempts to make the new gospel of development towards perfection on a purely natural basis, fascinating by means of the novel. The readiest and ablest pens of the hour are enlisted in the interest of that and similar doctrines. Even crude articles and heavily written books preaching the new gospel are devoured by a crowd ever on the alert for the latest intellectual novelty. The excitement is catching. "Did you read such and such an article? Did you see such and such an essay?" becomes the greeting of the day. The irreligious currents of thought are gaining new force daily, and are more and more influencing men's thoughts and sensibilities. A healthy and forcible assertion of the truth in which things are given their proper names shocks men's natures as being rude and befitting only the barbarism of the sixteenth century. Respect and deference are paid to principles unworthy of a South Sea savage. God and his religion and his providences may be blasphemed, but absurd theories that would shame the ravings of a maniac are to be

¹ Princeton Review, January, 1878, p. 193.

dignified by the name of science, and human reason must submit to their illogical conclusions with good grace. Men moving in such currents of thought are soon carried into their vortex, and live content in their atmosphere, finding it easier to doubt and question than to prove and refute. Religion must not be cried down by loud-mouthed nonentities; and we look to the Catholic universities of Europe as the intellectual centres whence will emanate the counter currents to the irreligion of the day.

For this reason, the writer gives a hearty "God-speed" to the new Catholic university of England. It is of the utmost importance that it succeed. But through the years of struggle it must be generously supported. The clergy must encourage it, and educate the people up to its nature and necessity. The prelates must not be content with giving it approval in a diocesan synod, they should exert themselves to see that those in their dioceses for whom it was established patronize it. The other educational bodies who have colleges of their own, should encourage their young men on leaving them to continue their studies in the university; at least, they should not allow human weakness to possess them to such an extent as to lead them to prefer the little rushlight of their own glory to the greater honor and glory of God, and place stumbling-blocks in the way of good being done because the doing of it was given to others than themselves. This is littleness unworthy of any respectable teaching body. It is heinousness in a religious order. The zeal that stones charity is born of malice. Finally, the professors must be allowed free scope and liberty of opinion on all issues not regarding faith and morals. They must not be censured or condemned as heretical or unorthodox because they broach opinions that tally not with preconceived notions.¹ Perhaps they so express themselves because they perceive the truth more clearly than their censors. Able and original thinkers naturally diverge from the beaten track. The dogmas of our sacred faith require definite formulæ to express them in; but matters of personal opinion, whether they bear upon history, or literature, or political science, or scientific theories, are tinged by the education and experience and habits of thought of each individual expressing himself upon them, and present an ample field for diversity of thought and expression. It is by means of this diversity that science is developed and truth grows apace. It is only in the clash of thought with thought, and opinion with opinion

¹ A scholar and thinker, whose articles have frequently graced the pages of this *Review*, in a letter to the writer makes this pertinent remark: "As a matter of fact, I think that quite a large number of Catholics, without knowing it, have adopted the Protestant principle of private judgment, viz.: *I have a right to any opinion I choose to adopt, and a right, too, to club every one who differs from me.*"

that intellects grow vigorous and new trains of reasoning are evolved. These things need scarcely be said, were it not, that the writer is aware of such insinuations having been made against some of the foremost champions of revealed truth, to the detriment of the new university. And as the same tongues still wag, it were well to be cautioned against them. The establishment of a Catholic university in England is too serious an affair to allow its progress to be impeded by straws. The real difficulties are too numerous to admit of imaginary ones. It is regarded as a test of the Church's vitality. Catholic charities and Catholic intellects built up the glory and reputation of seventeen out of the twenty colleges of Oxford. Catholic charities still flow, and Catholic intellects still shine.

THE POSITION OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARY IN CATHOLIC THEOLOGY.

I.

WHY WE HONOR HER.

THE sincere adorers and lovers of our Lord Jesus Christ look with reverence on every object with which He was associated, and they conceive an affection for every person that was near and dear to Him on earth. And the closer the intimacy of those persons with our Saviour the holier do they appear in our estimation; just as those planets partake most of the sun's light and heat which revolve the nearest around him.

There is something hallowed to the eye of the Christian in the very clay of Judea, because it was pressed by the footprints of our Blessed Redeemer. With what reverent steps we would enter the cave of Bethlehem, because *there* was born the Saviour of the world. With what religious demeanor we would tread the streets of Nazareth when we remembered that *there* were spent the days of His boyhood. What profound religious awe would fill our hearts on ascending Mount Calvary, where He paid by His blood the ransom of our souls.

But if the *lifeless* soil claims so much reverence, how much more veneration would be enkindled in our hearts for the *living* persons who were the friends and associates of our Saviour on earth? For,

we know that He exercised a certain salutary and magnetic influence on those whom He approached. "All the multitude sought to touch Him, for virtue went out from Him and healed all,"¹ as happened to the woman who had been troubled with an issue of blood.²

We would seem indeed to draw nearer to Jesus, if we had the happiness of only conversing with the Samaritan woman, or of eating at the table of Zaccheus, or of being entertained by Nicodemus. But if we were admitted into the inner circle of His friends, of Lazarus, Mary, and Martha, for instance, the Baptist, or the Apostles, we would be conscious that in their company we were drawing still nearer to Jesus, and imbibing somewhat of that spirit which they must have largely received from their familiar relations with Him.

Now, if the land of Judea is looked upon as hallowed ground, because Jesus dwelt there; if the Apostles were considered as models of holiness, because they were the chosen companions and pupils of our Lord in His latter years, how peerless must have been the sanctity of Mary, who gave Him birth, whose breast was His pillow, who nursed and clothed Him in infancy, who guided His early steps, who accompanied Him in His exile to Egypt and back, who abode with Him from infancy to boyhood, from boyhood to manhood, who during all that time listened to the words of wisdom which fell from His lips, who was the first to embrace Him at His birth, and the last to receive His dying breath on Calvary. This sentiment is so natural to us that we find it bursting forth spontaneously from the lips of the woman of the Gospel, who hearing the words of Jesus full of wisdom and sanctity, lifted up her voice and "said to Him: Blessed is the womb that bore Thee and the paps that gave Thee suck."

It is in accordance with the economy of divine Providence, that whenever God designs any person for some important work, He bestows on that person the graces and dispositions necessary for faithfully discharging it.

When Moses was called by heaven to be the leader of the Hebrew people, he hesitated to assume the formidable office on the plea of "impediment and slowness of tongue." But Jehovah reassured him by promising to qualify him for the sublime functions assigned to him: "I will be in thy mouth, and I will teach thee what thou shalt speak."³

The Prophet Jeremiah was sanctified from his very birth, because he was destined to be the herald of God's law to the children of Israel: "Before I formed thee in the bowels of thy mother, I knew

¹ Luke vi. 19.

² Matt. ix. 20.

³ Exod. iv. 12.

thee, and before thou camest forth out of the womb, I sanctified thee."¹

"Elizabeth was filled with the Holy Ghost,"² that she might be worthy to be the hostess of our Lord during the three months that Mary dwelt under her roof.

John the Baptist was "filled with the Holy Ghost even from his mother's womb."³ "He was a burning and a shining light,"⁴ because he was chosen to prepare the way of the Lord.

The Apostles received the plenitude of grace; they were endowed with the gift of tongues and other privileges⁵ before they commenced the work of the ministry. Hence, St. Paul says: "Our sufficiency is from God, who hath made us *fit* ministers of the New Testament."⁶

Now of all who have participated in the ministry of the Redemption, there is none who filled any position so exalted, so sacred, as is the incommunicable office of Mother of Jesus; and there is no one consequently that *needed* so high a degree of holiness as she did.

For if God thus sanctified His Prophets and Apostles, as being destined to be the bearers of the word of life, how much more sanctified must Mary have been, who was to bear the Lord and "Author of life."⁷ If John was so holy, because he was chosen as the pioneer to prepare the way of the Lord, how much more holy was she who ushered Him into the world. If holiness became John's mother, surely a greater holiness became the mother of John's Master. If God said to His priests of old: "Be ye clean, you that carry the vessels of the Lord;"⁸ nay, if the vessels themselves used in the divine service and churches are set apart by special consecration, we cannot conceive Mary to have been ever profaned by sin who was the chosen vessel of election, even the Mother of God.

When we call the Blessed Virgin the Mother of God, we assert our belief in two things: 1st. That her Son, Jesus Christ, is true man, else she were not a *mother*. 2d. That He is true God, else she were not the *Mother of God*. In other words, we affirm that the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity, the Word of God, who in His divine nature, is from all eternity begotten of the Father, consubstantial with Him, was in the fulness of time, again begotten, by being born of the Virgin, thus taking to Himself from her maternal womb, a human nature of the same substance with hers.

But it may be said: the Blessed Virgin is not the Mother of the Divinity. She had not, and could not have any part in the gener-

¹ Jer. i. 5.

² Luke i. 41.

³ Luke i. 15.

⁴ John v. 35.

⁵ Acts ii.

⁶ 2 Cor. iv. 6.

⁷ Acts iii. 15.

⁸ Isaiah lii. 11.

ation of the Word of God. For, that generation is eternal; her maternity temporal; He is her Creator; she His creature. Style her, if you will, the Mother of the man Jesus, or even of the human nature of the Son of God, but not the Mother of God.

I shall answer this objection by putting a question. Did the mother who bore us, have any part in the production of our *souls*? Was not this nobler part of our being the work of God alone? And yet who would for a moment dream of saying, "the mother of my body," and not "*my* mother?"

The comparison teaches us that the terms parent and child, mother and son, refer to the persons and not to the parts or elements of which the persons are composed. Hence, no one says: "The mother of my *body*," "the mother of my *soul*;" but in all propriety "my mother," the mother of me who live and breathe, think and act, *one* in my personality, though uniting in it a soul directly created by God, and a material body directly derived from the maternal womb. In like manner, as far as the sublime mystery of the Incarnation can be reflected in the natural order, the Blessed Virgin, under the overshadowing of the Holy Ghost, by communicating to the Second Person of the adorable Trinity, as mothers do, a true human nature of the same substance with her own, is thereby really and truly His Mother.

It is in this sense that the title of *Mother of God*, denied by Nestorius, was vindicated to her by the General Council of Ephesus in 431; and in this sense, and in no other, has the Church called her by that title.

Hence, by immediate and necessary consequence follow her surpassing dignity and excellence, and her special relationship and affinity, not only with her divine Son, but also with the Father and the Holy Ghost.

Mary, as Wordsworth beautifully expresses it, united in her person "a mother's love with maiden purity." The Church teaches us that she was always a Virgin, a Virgin before her espousals, during her married life, and after her spouse's death. "The Angel Gabriel was sent from God . . . to a Virgin espoused to a man whose name was Joseph, . . . and the Virgin's name was Mary."¹

That she remained a virgin till after the birth of Jesus is expressly stated in the Gospel.² It is not less certain that she continued in the same state during the remainder of her days; for she is called a Virgin in the Apostles' and the Nicene Creed, and that epithet cannot be restricted to the time of our Saviour's birth, but must be referred to her whole life, inasmuch as both creeds were compiled long after she had passed away.

¹ Luke i. 26, 27.

² Matt. i. 25.

The Canon of the Mass, which is very probably of Apostolic antiquity, speaks of her as the "glorious *Ever Virgin*," and in this sentiment all Catholic tradition concurs.

There is a propriety which suggests itself to every Christian in Mary's remaining a Virgin after the birth of Jesus, for, as Bishop Bull of the Protestant Episcopal Church of England remarks, "It cannot with decency be imagined that the most holy vessel which was once consecrated to be a receptacle of the Deity, should be afterwards desecrated and profaned by human use." The learned Grotius, Calvin, and other eminent Protestant writers hold the same view.

The doctrine of the perpetual virginity of Mary is now combated by Protestants as it was in the early days of the Church by Helvidius and Jovinian, on the following grounds:

1st. The evangelist says that "Joseph took unto him his wife, and he knew her not *till* she brought forth her firstborn son."¹ This sentence suggests to dissenters that other children besides Jesus were born to Mary. But the qualifying word *till* by no means implies that the chaste union which had subsisted between Mary and Joseph up to the birth of our Lord was subsequently altered. The Protestant Hooker justly complains of the early heretics as "abusing greatly these words, gathering, against the honor of the Blessed Virgin, that a thing denied with special circumstance doth import an opposite affirmation when once that circumstance is expired." To express Hooker's idea in plainer words, when a thing is said not to have occurred until another event had occurred, it does not necessarily follow that it did occur after that event took place.

The Scripture says that the raven went forth from the ark, "and did not return *till* the waters were dried up upon the earth,"² that is, it never returned. "Samuel saw Saul no more *till* the day of his death."³ He did not, of course, see him after death. "The Lord said to my Lord: Sit thou at my right hand *until* I make thy enemies thy footstool."⁴ These words apply to our Saviour, who did not cease to sit at the right of God after His enemies were subdued.

2d. But Jesus is called Mary's *firstborn* Son, and does not a firstborn always imply the subsequent birth of other children to the same mother? By no means; for the name of firstborn was given to the first son of every Jewish mother, whether other children followed or not. We find this epithet applied to Machir, for instance, who was the only son of Manasses.⁵

3d. But is not mention frequently made of the brethren of Jesus?⁶

¹ Matt. i. 25.

² Gen. viii. 7.

³ 1 Kings xv. 35.

⁴ Ps. cix.

⁵ Josue xvii. 1.

⁶ Matt. xii. 46; xiii. 55, 56.

Fortunately the Gospels themselves will enable us to trace the maternity of those who are called His brothers, not to the Blessed Virgin, but to another Mary. St. Matthew mentions, by name, James and Joseph among the brethren of Jesus;¹ and the same Evangelist and also St. Mark tell us that among those who were present at the crucifixion, were Mary Magdalen and Mary the mother of James and Joseph.² And St. John, who narrates with more detail the circumstances of the crucifixion, informs us who this second Mary was, for he says that there stood by the cross of Jesus His mother and His mother's sister, Mary of Cleophas, and Mary Magdalen.³ There is no doubt that Mary of Cleophas is identical with Mary who is called by Matthew and Mark the mother of James and Joseph. And as Mary of Cleophas was the kinswoman of the Blessed Virgin, James and Joseph are called the brothers of Jesus, in conformity with the Hebrew practice of giving that appellation to cousins or near relations. Abraham, for instance, was the uncle of Lot, yet he calls him "brother."⁴

Mary is exalted above all other women, not only because she united "a mother's love with maiden purity," but also because she was conceived without original sin. The dogma of the Immaculate Conception is thus expressed by the Church: "We define that the Blessed Virgin Mary in the first moment of her conception, by the singular grace and privilege of Almighty God, in virtue of the merits of Jesus Christ, the Saviour of the human race, was preserved free from every stain of original sin."⁵

Unlike the rest of the children of Adam, the soul of Mary was never subject to sin, even in the first moment of its infusion into the body. She alone was exempt from the original taint. This immunity of Mary from original sin is exclusively due to the merits of Christ, as the Church expressly declares. She needed a Redeemer as well as the rest of the human race, and therefore was "redeemed, but in a more sublime manner."⁶ Mary is as much indebted to the precious blood of Jesus for having been *preserved*, as we are for having been *cleansed* from original sin.

Although the Immaculate Conception was not formulated into a dogma of faith till 1854, it is at least implied in Holy Scripture, it is in strict harmony with the place which Mary holds in the economy of redemption, and has virtually received the pious assent of the faithful from the earliest days of the Church.

In Genesis we read: "I will put enmities between thee and the woman, and thy seed and her seed; she shall crush thy head."⁷

¹ Matt. xii. 46; xiii. 55, 56.

⁴ Gen. xiii. 8.

⁶ Ibid.

² Matt. xxvii.; Mark, xv.

⁵ Bulla Dogmat. Pii Papæ IX.

⁷ Gen. iii. 15.

³ John xix. 25.

All Catholic commentators, ancient and modern, recognize in the seed, the serpent, and the woman, types of our Saviour, of Mary, and the Devil. God here declares that the enmity of the Seed and that of the woman towards the Tempter were to be identical. Now the enmity of Christ or the Seed towards the evil One was absolute and perpetual. Therefore the enmity of Mary, or the woman, towards the Devil, never admitted of any momentary reconciliation, which would have existed if she were ever subject to original sin.

It is worthy of note that as three characters appear on the scene of our fall, Adam, Eve, and the rebellious Angel, so three corresponding personages figure in our redemption, Jesus Christ, who is the second Adam,¹ Mary, who is the second Eve, and the Archangel Gabriel. The second Adam was immeasurably superior to the first, Gabriel was superior to the fallen angel, and hence we are warranted by analogy to conclude that Mary was superior to Eve. But if she had been created in original sin, instead of being superior, she would be inferior to Eve, who was certainly created immaculate. We cannot conceive that the mother of Cain was created superior to the mother of Jesus. It would have been unworthy of a God of infinite purity to have been born of a woman that was even for an instant under the dominion of Satan.

The liturgies of the Church being the established formularies of her public worship, are among the most authoritative documents that can be adduced in favor of any religious practice.

In the liturgy ascribed to St. James, Mary is commemorated as "our most holy, immaculate, and most glorious lady, mother of God and ever Virgin Mary."²

In the Maronite Ritual she is invoked as "our holy, praiseworthy, and immaculate lady."³

In the Alexandrian liturgy of St. Basil she is addressed as "most holy, most glorious, immaculate."⁴

The Feast of Mary's Conception commenced to be celebrated in the East in the fifth, and in the West in the seventh century. It was not introduced into Rome till probably towards the end of the fourteenth century. Though Rome is always the first that is called on to sanction a new festival, she is often the last to take part in it. She is the first that is expected to give the keynote, but frequently the last to join in the festive song. While she is silent, the notes are faint and uncertain; when her voice joins in the chant, the song of praise becomes constant and universal.

It is scarcely necessary for me to add that the introduction of

¹ 1 Cor. xv. 45.

³ De sac. ordinat., p. 313.

² Bibliotheca Max. Patrum, t. 2, p. 3.

⁴ Renaudot. Lit. Orient.

the Festival of the Conception after the lapse of so many centuries from the foundation of Christianity, no more implies a novelty of doctrine than the erection of a monument in 1875 to Arminius, the German hero who flourished in the first century, would be an evidence of his recent exploits. The Feast of the Blessed Trinity was not introduced till the fifth century, though it commemorates a fundamental mystery of the Christian religion.

It is interesting to us to know that the Immaculate Conception of Mary has been interwoven in the earliest history of our own country. The ship that first bore Columbus to America was named *Mary of the Conception*. This celebrated navigator gave the same name to the second island which he discovered. The first chapel erected in Quebec, when that city was founded in the early part of the seventeenth century, was dedicated to God under the invocation of *Mary Immaculate*.

In view of these three great prerogatives of Mary, her divine maternity, her perpetual virginity, and her Immaculate Conception, we are prepared to find her blessedness often and expressly declared in Holy Scripture. The Archangel Gabriel is sent to her from heaven to announce to her the happy tidings that she was destined to be the mother of the world's Redeemer. No greater favor was ever before or since conferred on woman, whether we consider the dignity of the messenger, or the momentous character of the message, or the terms of respect in which it is conveyed. "And the Angel Gabriel was sent from God into a city of Galilee called Nazareth to a virgin, . . . and the virgin's name was Mary. And the angel being come in, said unto her: Hail, full of grace, the Lord is with thee; blessed art thou among women. Who having heard, was troubled at his saying, and thought with herself what manner of salutation this should be. And the angel said to her: Fear not, Mary, for thou hast found grace with God. Behold, thou shalt conceive in thy womb, and shalt bring forth a son, and thou shalt call His name Jesus. . . . The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Most High shall overshadow thee, and therefore, also, the Holy which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God."¹

"*Hail, full of grace!*" St. Stephen and the apostles were also said to be full of the spirit of God. By this, however, we are not to understand that the same measure of grace was imparted to them which was given to Mary. On each it is bestowed according to each one's merits and needs; for "one is the glory of the sun, another the glory of the moon, and another the glory of the stars, for star differeth from star in glory;"² and as Mary's office of

¹ Luke i. 26-35.

² 1 Cor. xv. 41.

mother of God immeasurably surpassed in dignity that of the protomartyr and of the Apostles, so did her grace superabound over theirs.

"The Lord is with thee." "He exists in His creatures in different ways; in those that are endowed with reason in one way, in irrational creatures in another. His irrational creatures have no means of apprehending or possessing Him. All rational creatures may indeed apprehend Him by knowledge, but only the good by love. Only in the good does He so exist as to be with them as well as in them; with them by a certain harmony and agreement of will, and in this way God is with all His saints. But He is with Mary in a yet more special manner, for in her there was so great an agreement and union with God, that not her will only, but her very flesh was to be united to Him."¹

"Blessed art thou among women." The same expression is applied to two other women in the Holy Scripture, viz., to Jahel and Judith. The former was called blessed after she had slain Sisara,² and the latter after she had slain Holofernes,³ both of whom had been enemies of God's people, and in this respect these two women are true types of Mary, who was chosen by God to crush the head of the serpent, the infernal enemy of mankind. And if they deserved the title of blessed for being the instruments of God in rescuing Israel from temporal calamities, how much more does Mary merit that appellation, who co-operated so actively in the salvation of the human race?

The Evangelist proceeds: "And Mary, rising up in those days, went . . . into a city of Juda; and she entered into the house of Zachary and saluted Elizabeth. And it came to pass that when Elizabeth heard the salutation of Mary, the infant leapt in her womb. And Elizabeth was filled with the Holy Ghost, and she cried out with a loud voice and said: Blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb. And whence is this to me that the mother of my Lord should come to me? For behold as soon as the voice of thy salutation sounded in my ears, the infant in my womb leaped for joy. And blessed art thou that hast believed, because those things shall be accomplished that were spoken to thee by the Lord."⁴

The usual order of salutation is here reversed. Age pays reverence to youth. A lady who is revered by the whole community honors a lowly maiden. An inspired matron expresses her astonishment that her young kinswoman should deign to visit her. She extols Mary's faith and calls her blessed. She blends the praise of Mary with the praise of Mary's Son, and even the infant John testi-

¹ St. Bernard.² Judges v.³ Judith xiii.⁴ Luke i. 39-45.

fies his reverential joy by leaping in his mother's womb. And we are informed that during this interview Elizabeth was filled with the Holy Ghost, to remind us that the veneration she paid to her cousin, was not prompted by her own feelings, but was dictated by the Spirit of God.

Then Mary breaks out into that sublime canticle, the Magnificat: "My soul doth magnify the Lord, and my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour, because He hath regarded the humility of His handmaid, for behold from henceforth all generations shall call me blessed."¹ On these words I will stop to make one reflection.

The Holy Ghost, through the organ of Mary's chaste lips, prophesies that all generations shall call her blessed, with evident approval of the praise she should receive.

Now the Catholic is the only Church whose children, generation after generation, from the first to the present century, have pronounced her blessed; and of all Christians in this land, they alone contribute to the fulfilment of the prophecy.

Therefore it is only Catholics that earn the approval of heaven by fulfilling the prediction of the Holy Ghost.

Protestants not only concede that we bless the name of Mary, but they even reproach us for being too lavish in our praises of her.

On the other hand, they are careful to exclude themselves from the "generations" that were destined to call her blessed, for, in speaking of her, they almost invariably withhold from her the title of *blessed*, preferring to call her *the Virgin*, or *Mary the Virgin*, or *the Mother of Jesus*. And while Protestant churches will resound with the praises of Sarah and Rebecca and Rachel, of Miriam and Ruth, of Esther and Judith of the Old Testament, and of Elizabeth and Anna, of Magdalen and Martha of the New, the name of Mary the mother of Jesus is uttered with bated breath, lest the sound of her name should make the preacher liable to the charge of superstition.

The piety of a mother usually sheds additional lustre on the son, and the halo that encircles her brow is reflected upon his. The more the mother is extolled, the greater honor redounds to the son. And if this is true of all men who do not choose their mothers, how much more strictly may it be affirmed of Him who chose His own Mother, and made her Himself such as He would have her, so that all the glories of His Mother are essentially His own. And yet we daily see ministers of the Gospel ignoring Mary's exalted virtues and unexampled privileges, and parading her alleged imperfections, nay sinfulness, as if her Son were dis-

¹ Luke i. 46-48.

honored by the piety, and took delight in the defamation of His Mother.

Such defamers might learn a lesson from one who made little profession of Christianity.

“Is thy name Mary, maiden fair?
Such should, methinks, its music be.
The sweetest name that mortals bear,
Were best befitting thee.
And she to whom it once was given,
Was half of earth and half of heaven.”¹

Once more the title of *blessed* is given to Mary. On one occasion a certain woman lifting up her voice, said to Jesus, “Blessed is the womb that bore thee, and the paps that gave thee suck.”² It is true that our Lord replied: “Yea, rather (or yea, likewise), blessed are they who hear the word of God and keep it.” It would be an unwarrantable perversion of the sacred text to infer from this reply that Jesus intended to detract from the praise bestowed on His mother. His words may be thus correctly paraphrased: She is blessed indeed in being the chosen instrument of My incarnation, but more blessed in keeping My word. Let others be comforted in knowing that though they cannot share with My mother in the privilege of her maternity, they can participate with her in the blessed reward of those who hear My word and keep it.

In the preceding passages we have seen Mary declared blessed on four different occasions, and hence in proclaiming her blessedness, far from paying her unmerited honor, we are but re-echoing the Gospel verdict of saint and angel, and of the Spirit of God Himself.

Wordsworth, though not nurtured within the bosom of the Catholic Church, conceives a true appreciation of Mary's incomparable holiness in the following beautiful lines:

“Mother! whose virgin bosom was uncrossed
With the least shade of thought to sin allied;
Woman! above all women glorified,
Our tainted nature's solitary boast;
Purer than foam on central ocean tost,
Brighter than eastern skies at daybreak strewn
With fancied roses, than the unblemished moon
Before her wane begins on heaven's blue coast,
Thy image falls to earth. Yet some, I ween,
Not unforgiven, the suppliant knee might bend
As to a visible power, in which did blend
All that was mixed and reconciled in thee
Of mother's love with maiden purity,
Of high with low, celestial with serene.”

¹ Oliver W. Holmes.

² Luke xi. 27.

To honor one who has been the subject of divine, angelic, and saintly panegyric, is to us a privilege, and the privilege is heightened into a sacred duty when we remember that the spirit of prophecy foretold that she should ever be the unceasing theme of Christian eulogy as long as Christianity itself would exist.

"Honor he is worthy of, whom the king hath a mind to honor."¹ The King of kings hath honored Mary; His divine Son did not disdain to be subject to her, therefore should we honor her, especially as the honor we pay to her redounds to God, the source of all glory. The Royal Prophet, than whom no man paid higher praise to God, esteemed the friends of God worthy of all honor: "To me, Thy friends, O God, are made exceedingly honorable."² Now the dearest friends of God are they who most faithfully keep His precepts: "You are My friends, if you do the things that I command you."³ Who fulfilled the divine precepts better than Mary, who kept all the words of her Son, pondering them in her heart? "If any man minister to me," says our Saviour, "him will My Father honor."⁴ Who ministered more constantly to Jesus than Mary, who fulfilled towards Him all the offices of a tender mother?

Heroes and statesmen may receive the highest military and civic honors which a nation can bestow, without being suspected of invading the domain of the glory which is due to God. Now, is not heroic sanctity more worthy of admiration than civil service and military exploits, inasmuch as religion ranks higher than patriotism and valor? And yet the admirers of Mary's exalted virtues, can scarcely celebrate her praises without being accused in certain quarters of Mariolatry.

When a nation wishes to celebrate the memory of its distinguished men, its admiration is not confined to words, but vents itself in a thousand different shapes. See in how many ways we honor the memory of Washington. Monuments on which his good deeds are recorded, are erected to his name. The grounds where his remains repose on the banks of the Potomac, are kept in order by a volunteer band of devoted ladies who adorn the place with flowers. And this cherished spot is annually visited by thousands of pilgrims from the most remote sections of the country. These visitors will eagerly snatch a flower, or a leaf from a shrub growing near Washington's tomb, or will strive even to clip off a little shred from one of his garments, which are still preserved in the old mansion, and these they will bear home with them as precious relics.

I have always observed when travelling on the missions up and

¹ Esther vi. 11.

² Ps. cxxxviii. (In Protestant version, Ps. cxxxix.)

³ John xv. 14.

⁴ Ibid xii. 26.

down the Potomac, that whenever the steamer came to the point opposite Mount Vernon, the bell was tolled, and then every eye was directed towards Washington's grave.

And the 22d of February, Washington's birthday, is kept as a national holiday, at least in certain portions of the country. I well remember how formerly the military and the fire companies paraded the streets, how patriotic speeches recounting the heroic deeds of the first President were delivered, the festivities of the day closing with a social banquet.

As the citizens of the United States manifest in divers ways their admiration for Washington, so do the citizens of the republic of the Church love to exhibit in corresponding forms their veneration for the Mother of Jesus.

Monuments and statues are erected to her. Thrice each day, at morn, noon, and even, the Angelus bells are rung to recall to our minds the Incarnation of our Lord, and the participation of Mary in this great mystery of love.

Her shrines are tastefully adorned by pious hands, and are visited by devoted children who wear her relics, or any object which bears her image, or which is associated with her name.

Her natal day and other days of the year, sacred to her memory, are appropriately commemorated by processions, by participation in the banquet of the Eucharist, and by sermons enlarging on her virtues and prerogatives.

As no one was ever suspected of loving his country and her institutions less because of his revering Washington, so no one can reasonably suppose that our homage to God is diminished by fostering reverence for Mary; for, as our object in eulogizing Washington is not so much to honor the man, as to vindicate those principles of which he was the champion and exponent, and to express our gratitude to God for the blessings bestowed on our country through him, even so our motive in commemorating Mary's name, is not merely to praise her, but still more to keep us in perpetual remembrance of our Lord's Incarnation, and to show our thankfulness to Him for the blessings wrought through that great mystery in which she was so prominent a figure. And experience sufficiently demonstrates that the better we understand the part which Mary has taken in the work of Redemption, the more enlightened becomes our knowledge of our Redeemer Himself, and that the greater our love for her the deeper and broader is our devotion to Him; while experience also testifies that our Saviour's attributes become more confused and warped in the minds of a people in proportion as they ignore Mary's relations to Him.

The defender of a beleaguered citadel concentrates his forces on the outer fortifications and towers, knowing well that the capture

of these outworks would endanger the citadel itself, and that *their* safety involves *its* security.

Jesus Christ is the citadel of our faith, the stronghold of our soul's affections. Mary is called the "Tower of David," and the gate of Sion which the Lord loveth more than all the tabernacles of Jacob,¹ and which He entered at His Incarnation.

So intimately is this living gate of Sion connected with Jesus, the temple of our faith, that no one has ever assailed the former without invading the latter. The Nestorian would have Mary to be only an ordinary mother, because he would have Christ to be a mere man.

Hence if we rush to the defence of the gate of Sion, it is because we are more zealous for the city of God. If we stand as sentinels around the tower of David, it is because we are more earnest in protecting Jerusalem from invasion. If we forbid profane hands to touch the ark of the covenant, it is because we are anxious to guard from profanation the Lord of the ark. If we are so solicitous about Mary's honor, it is because "the love of Christ" presseth us. If we will not permit a single wreath to be snatched from her fair brow, it is because we are unwilling that a single feature of Christ's sacred humanity should be obscured, and because we wish that He should ever shine forth in all the splendor of His glory, and clothed in all the panoply of His perfections.

But you will ask: Why do you so often blend together the worship of God and the veneration of the Blessed Virgin? Why such exclamations as, *Blessed be Jesus and Mary?* Why do you so often repeat in succession the Lord's prayer and the Angelical salutation? Is not this practice calculated to level all distinctions between the Creator and His creature, and to excite the displeasure of a God ever jealous of His glory?

Those who make this objection, should remember that the praises of the Lord and of His Saints are frequently combined in Holy Scripture itself.

Witness Judith. On returning from the tent of Holofernes, she sang: "*Praise ye the Lord, our God, who hath not forsaken them that hope in Him, and by me His handmaid, He hath fulfilled His mercy which He promised to the house of Israel And Ozias the prince of the people of Israel, said to her: Blessed art thou, O daughter, by the Lord the most high God, above all women upon the earth. Blessed be the Lord who made heaven and earth. . . because He hath so magnified thy name this day, that thy praise shall not depart out of the mouth of men.*"²

Witness Ecclesiasticus. After glorifying God for His mighty

¹ Ps. lxxvi.

² Judith xiii.

works, he immediately sounds the praises of Enoch and Noe, of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, of Moses and Aaron, of Samuel and Nathan, of David and Josias, of Isaiah and Jeremiah, and other Kings and Prophets of Israel.¹

Elizabeth in the same breath, exclaims: "Blessed art thou among women and blessed is the fruit of thy womb."²

And Mary herself under the inspiration of heaven, cries out: "My soul *doth magnify the Lord*, and my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour. . . . For, behold from henceforth all generations *shall call me blessed*."³ Here are the names of Creator and creature interwoven like threads of gold and silver in the same woof, without provoking the jealousy of God.

God jealous of the honor paid to Mary! As well might we imagine that the sun, if endowed with intelligence, would be jealous of the mellow, golden cloud which encircles him, which reflects his brightness, and presents in bolder light his inaccessible splendor. As well imagine that the same luminary would be jealous of our admiration for the beautiful rose, whose opening petals, and rich color and delicious fragrance are the fruit of his beneficent rays.

Hence in uniting Mary's praise with that of Jesus, we are strictly imitating the Sacred Text; and as no one ever suspected that the encomiums pronounced on Judith and the virtuous Kings and Prophets of Israel detracted from God's honor, so neither do we lessen His glory in exalting the Blessed Virgin. I find Jesus and Mary together at the manger, together in Egypt, together in Nazareth, together in the temple, together at the cross. I find their names side by side in the Apostles' and the Nicene Creed. It is fitting that both should find a place in my heart, and that both names should often flow successively from my lips. Inseparable in life and in death, they should not be divorced in my prayer. "What God hath joined together, let not man put asunder."

II.

WHY WE INVOKE HER.

The Church exhorts her children not only to honor the Blessed Virgin, but also to invoke her intercession. It is evident from Scripture, that the Angels and Saints in heaven can hear our prayers, and that they have the power and the will to help us.⁴ Now if the angels are conversant with what happens on earth; if the prophets, even while clothed in the flesh, had a clear vision of

¹ Eccles. xliii. *et seq.*

² Luke i.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Gen. xlviii. 16; Tobias xii. 12; Luke xv. 10; Zach. i. 12, 13.

things which were then transpiring at a great distance from them; if they could penetrate into the future, and foretell events which were then hidden in the womb of time, shall we believe that God withholds a knowledge of our prayers from Mary, who is justly styled the Queen of Angels and Saints? For, as Mary's sanctity surpasses that of all other mortals, her knowledge must be proportionately greater than theirs, since knowledge constitutes one of the sources of celestial bliss.

If Stephen while his soul was still in the prison of the body, "*saw* the glory of God, and Jesus standing on the right hand of God;"¹ if Paul "*heard* secret words"² spoken in paradise, is it surprising that Mary hears and sees us, now that she is elevated to heaven, and stands "face to face" before God, the perfect Mirror of all knowledge? It is as easy for God to enable His Saints to see things terrestrial from heaven, as things celestial from earth.

The influence of Mary's intercession exceeds that of the Angels, Patriarchs, and Prophets, in the same degree that her sanctity surpasses theirs. If our heavenly Father listens so propitiously to the voice of His servants, what will He refuse to her who is His chosen daughter of predilection, chosen among thousands to be the Mother of His beloved Son? If we ourselves, though sinners, can help one another by our prayers, how irresistible must be the intercession of Mary, who never grieved Almighty God by sin, who never tarnished her white robe of innocence by the least defilement, from the first moment of her existence till she was received by triumphant angels into heaven.

In speaking of the patronage of the Blessed Virgin, we must never lose sight of her title of Mother of our Redeemer, nor of the great privileges which that prerogative implies. Mary was the Mother of Jesus. She exercised towards Him all the influence which a prudent mother has over an affectionate child. "Jesus," says the Gospel, "was subject to them,"³ that is, to Mary and Joseph. We find this obedience of our Lord towards His Mother forcibly exemplified at the marriage feast of Cana. Her wishes are delicately expressed in these words: "They have no wine." He instantly obeys her by changing water into wine, though the time for exercising His public ministry and for working wonders had not yet arrived.

Now Mary has never forfeited in heaven the title of Mother of Jesus. She is still His Mother, and while adoring Him as her God, she still retains her maternal relations, and He exercises towards her that loving willingness to grant her requests which the best of sons entertains for the best of mothers.

¹ Acts viii. 55.

² 2 Cor. xii. 4.

³ Luke ii. 51.

Never does Jesus appear to us so amiable and endearing as when we see Him nestled in the arms of His Mother. We love to contemplate Him, and artists love to represent Him in that situation. And it appears to me that had we lived in Jerusalem in His day, and recognized, like Simeon, the Lord of majesty in the form of an Infant, and had we a favor to ask Him, we would present it through Mary's hands, while the divine eyes of the Babe were gazing on her sweet countenance. And even so now. Never will our prayers find a readier acceptance than when offered through her.

In invoking our Lady's patronage, we are actuated by a triple sense of the majesty of God, our own unworthiness, and of Mary's incomparable influence with her heavenly Father. Conscious of our natural lowliness and sins we have often recourse to her intercession in the assured hope of being more favorably heard :

“ And even as children who have much offended
A too indulgent father, in great shame,
Penitent, and yet not daring unattended
To go into his presence, at the gate
Speak to their sister and confiding wait
Till she goes in before and intercedes;
So men, repenting of their evil deeds,
And yet not venturing rashly to draw near
With their requests, an angry Father's ear,
Offer to her prayers and their confession,
And she in heaven for them makes intercession.”¹

Do you ask me, is Mary willing to assist you? Does she really take an interest in your welfare? Or is she so much absorbed by the fruition of God as to be indifferent to our miseries? Can a woman forget her infant so as not to have pity on the fruit of her womb?² Even so Mary will not forget us.

The love she bears us, her children by adoption, can be estimated only by her love for her Son by nature. It was Mary that nursed the Infant Saviour. It was her hands that clothed Him. It was her breast that sheltered Him from the rude storm and from the persecution of Herod. She it was that wiped the stains from His brow when taken down from the cross. Now we are the brothers of Jesus. He is not ashamed, says the Apostle, to call us His brethren.³ Neither is Mary ashamed to call us her children by adoption. At the foot of the cross she adopted us in the person of St. John. She is anxious to minister to our souls as she ministered to the corporal wants of her Son. She would be the instrument of God in feeding us with divine grace, in clothing us with the garments of innocence, in sheltering us from the storms of temptation, in wiping away the stains of sin from our soul.

¹ Longfellow's "Golden Legend."

² Isaiah xlix. 15.

³ Heb. ii. 11.

If the angels, though of a different nature from ours, have so much sympathy for us as to rejoice in our conversion,¹ how great must be the interest manifested towards us by Mary, who is of a common nature with us, descended from the same primitive parents, being bone of our bone, and flesh of our flesh, and who once trod the thorny path of life which we tread now!

Though not of the household of the faith, Edgar A. Poe did not disdain to invoke our Lady's intercession, and to acknowledge the influence of her patronage in heaven.

“At morn—at noon—at twilight dim—
Maria! thou hast heard my hymn!
In joy and woe—in good and ill—
Mother of God, be with me still!
When the hours flew brightly by,
And not a cloud obscured the sky,
My soul, lest it should truant be,
Thy grace did guide to thine and thee;
Now, when storms of fate o’ercast
Darkly my present and my past,
Let my future radiant shine,
With sweet hopes of thee and thine.”

Some persons not only object to the invocation of Mary as being unprofitable, but they even affect to be scandalized at the confidence we repose in her intercession, on the groundless assumption that by praying to her we ignore and dishonor God, and that we put the creature on a level with the Creator.

Every Catholic child knows from the catechism that to give to any creature the supreme honor due to God alone is idolatry. How can we be said to dishonor God, or bring Him down to a level with His creature by invoking Mary, since we acknowledge her to be a pure creature indebted like ourselves to Him for every gift and influence which she possesses? This is implied in the very form of our petitions.

When we address our prayers to her, we say, *Pray for us sinners*, implying by these words that she is herself a petitioner at the throne of divine mercy. To God we say, *Give us our daily bread*, thereby acknowledging Him to be the source of all bounty.

This principle being kept in view, how can we be justly accused of slighting God's majesty by invoking the intercession of His handmaid?

If a beggar asks and receives alms from me through my servant, should I be offended at the blessings which he invokes upon her? Far from it; I accept them as intended for myself, because she bestowed what was mine, and with my consent.

Our Lord says to His Apostles: “I dispose to you a kingdom,

¹ Luke xv. 7.

that you may eat and drink at My table in My kingdom, and may sit upon thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel."¹ And St. Paul says: "Know you not that we shall judge angels, how much more things of this world?"² If the Apostles may sit at the table of the Lord in heaven without prejudice to His majesty, surely our Lady can stand as an advocate before Him without infringing on His rights. If they can exercise the dread prerogative of judges of angels and of men without trespassing on the divine judgship of Jesus, surely Mary can fulfil the more modest function of intercessor with her Son without intruding on His supreme mediatorship, for, higher is the office of judge than that of advocate. And yet while no one is ever startled at the power given to the Apostles, many are impatient of the lesser privilege claimed for Mary.

III.

THE INFLUENCE OF HER EXAMPLE.

But while the exalted privileges of Mary render her worthy of our veneration, while her saintly influence renders her worthy of our invocation, her personal life is constantly held up to us as a pattern worthy of our imitation. And if she occupies so prominent a place in our pulpits, this prominence is less due to her prerogatives as a mother, or to her intercession as a patroness, than to her example as a saint.

After our Lord Jesus Christ, no one has ever exercised so salutary and so dominant an influence as the Blessed Virgin on society, on the family, and on the individual.

The Mother of Jesus exercises throughout the Christian commonwealth that hallowing influence which a good mother wields over the Christian family.

What temple or chapel, how rude soever it may be, is not adorned with a painting or a statue of the Madonna? What house is not embellished with an image of Mary? What Catholic child is a stranger to her familiar face?

The priest and the layman, the scholar and the illiterate, the prince and the peasant, the mother and the maid, acknowledge her benign sway.

And if Christianity is so fruitful in comparison with paganism, in conjugal fidelity, in female purity, and in the respect which is paid to womanhood, these blessings are in no small measure due to the force of Mary's all-pervading influence and example. Ever since the Son of God chose a woman to be His mother, man looks up to woman with a homage akin to veneration.

¹ Luke xxii. 29, 30.

² 1 Cor. vi.

The poet Longfellow pays the following tribute to Mary's sanctifying influence:

"This is indeed the blessed Mary's land,
Virgin and Mother of our dear Redeemer!
All hearts are touched and softened at her name;
Alike the bandit with the bloody hand,
The priest, the prince, the scholar and the peasant,
The man of deeds, the visionary dreamer,
Pay homage to her as one ever present!

* * * *

And if our faith had given us nothing more
Than this example of all womanhood,
So mild, so merciful, so strong, so good,
So patient, peaceful, loyal, loving, pure,
This were enough to prove it higher and truer
Than all the creeds the world had known before."

St. Ambrose gives us the following beautiful picture of Mary's life before her espousals: "Let the life," he says, "of the Blessed Mary be ever present to you, in which, as in a mirror, the beauty of chastity and the form of virtue shine forth. She was a virgin not only in body, but in mind, who never sullied the pure affection of her heart by unworthy feelings. She was humble of heart, serious in her conversation, fonder of reading than of speaking. She placed her confidence rather in the prayer of the poor than in the uncertain riches of this world. She was ever intent on her occupations, . . . and accustomed to make God rather than man the witness of her thoughts. She injured no one, wished well to all, revered age, yielded not to envy, avoided all boasting, followed the dictates of reason, and loved virtue. When did she sadden her parents even by a look? . . . There was nothing forward in her looks, bold in her words, or unbecoming in her actions. Her carriage was not abrupt, her gait not indolent, her voice not petulant, so that her very appearance was the picture of her mind and the figure of piety."

Her life as a spouse and as a mother was a counterpart of her earlier years. The Gospel relates one little circumstance which amply suffices to demonstrate Mary's supereminent holiness of life, and to exhibit her as a beautiful pattern to those who are called to rule a household. The Evangelist tells us that Jesus "was subject to them,"² that is, to Mary and Joseph. He obeyed all her commands, fulfilled her behests, complied with her smallest injunctions. In a word, He discharged towards her all the filial obligations which a dutiful son exercises towards a prudent mother. And these relations continued from His childhood to His public life; nor did they cease even then.

¹ Longfellow's "Golden Legend."

² Luke ii. 51.

Now Jesus being the Son of God, "the brightness of His glory and the figure of His substance,"¹ could not sin. He was incapable of fulfilling an unrighteous precept. The obvious conclusion to be drawn from these facts is, that Mary never sinned by commanding, as Jesus could not sin by obeying; that all her precepts and counsels were stamped with the seal of divine approbation, and that the Son never fulfilled any injunction of His earthly Mother which was not ratified by His eternal Father in heaven.

Such is the beautiful portrait which the Church holds up to the contemplation of her children, that studying it they may admire the original, admiring they may love, loving may imitate, and thus become more dear to God by being made "conformable to the image of His Son,"² of whom Mary is the most perfect mirror.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

THE condition of the people of England at the beginning of the sixteenth century was not favorable to the preservation of liberty. The sanguinary struggle so long continued between the rival houses of York and Lancaster had ended in the accession to the throne of the Earl of Richmond under the title of Henry VII., and the union of the two factions had been consolidated by the marriage of the King with the daughter and heiress of Edward IV. Civil war was at an end; its effects remained. Fire and sword leave ashes and scars as mementos of their presence, and so it was that when peace revisited the land, it found the nobility mutilated in all its houses, the spirit of the people broken, the nation exhausted.

Poets and historians oftentimes portray the same characters with very different pencils. Shakspeare's Earl of Richmond, victorious at Bosworth, praying God to "enrich his subjects with smooth-faced peace, with smiling plenty, and fair prosperous days," is not the rapacious and remorseless tyrant which the truth-loving pen of John Lingard gives us. "His mind," he says, "was dark and mistrustful; he was capable of employing the most unprincipled agents, and of descending to the meanest artifices. There was nothing open in his friendship, nothing generous in his enmity," and "his rapacity fed with equal appetite on his friends and enemies." Dur-

¹ Heb. i. 3.

² Rom. viii. 29.

ing a reign which lasted close on a quarter of a century, Henry summoned but very few parliaments, and then mainly to extort money or legalize some sinister project of his own. His last parliament, and the only one in thirteen years, was convoked in 1504. It met for the purpose of dowering the King's eldest daughter Margaret on her marriage to James IV. of Scotland. Henry made this a pretext for demanding a grant far in excess of the dower. Afraid to refuse, unwilling to comply, the Commons were silent. Of that high and manly spirit which wrung from the tyrant King John the "Magna Charta" there was hardly a whisper. A young lawyer put an end to their indecision. Standing up to speak at that critical moment he became the magnet of every eye. He was of middle height and well made; his face was pale, his eyes gray, and his hair was of the color called chestnut. He took ground in opposition to the King, and as he warmed to the subject, binding argument to argument in support of his position, his voice, though not over musical, rang out clear and distinct. His thoughts were in advance of his words, and his words rolled out in that varied copiousness and sustained strength which proclaims the thinker, the scholar, the orator. He ended, and the House was thrilled. The spell of the speaker had aroused and summoned from its grave the brave and independent spirit of a past generation, the course of absolute despotism received a check, and the Commons, whom Lingard justly called "the obsequious ministers of the King's pleasure," for once refused its sanction to royal extortion. "Thereupon," says an old biographer, "Master Tyler, one of the King's courtiers, made haste to tell his majesty that a beardless boy had disappointed him of all his expectations." That "beardless boy" who, at the risk of exile, perhaps of life, seeing the right, had the courage to assert and the eloquence to maintain it, was Thomas More, then under-sheriff of London, afterwards Lord High Chancellor of England.

He was born in London in the year 1480. His father, Sir John More, was justice of the Court of King's Bench, and belonged to that class which, in England, takes rank next the nobility, and is known as "gentle." Young More was early sent to an excellent school, and remained at it until he had completed his fifteenth year. Nowadays, when a boy leaves school, if he is to pursue his studies, he immediately enters college. Then it was different. At that time it was thought advisable, when the powers of the mind had begun to unfold somewhat under the influence of mental discipline, to bring out and develop, at least in an equal degree, the qualities of the heart. It was held that no education could be reckoned complete which had failed to train the scholar to habits of prompt obedience to authority, of respectful deference to elders, of courtesy

to equals, of self-reliance, and of self-control. A school was sought, therefore, in which the pliant nature of yet tender years might be formed to the pattern of moral excellence, and in which inquiring youth might gather from the lips of prudent, experienced age, lessons of that practical wisdom which it is the privilege of experience to communicate. Gentlemen were accustomed to send their sons to spend in the house of some learned prelate or distinguished noble what may be called an apprenticeship to some of the harsher realities of life. There they served as pages and attendants; and it was deemed no discredit; an honor, rather. "A young gentleman," observes Sir James Mackintosh, "thought himself no more lowered by serving in the family of some great peer or prelate, than a Courtenay or a Howard considered it a degradation to be the huntsman or cup-bearer of a Tudor."

The good fortune of More placed him in the household of John Cardinal Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury and Lord Chancellor. John Morton was an extraordinary man, in his day the most wary and sagacious statesman in the realm. He was the Richelieu of the age, the originator and successful advocate of that politic scheme which quenched discord in the marriage of the rival "Roses." No less an authority than Lord Bacon has pronounced his eulogy as a legislator; but it is Shakspeare himself who held the weight of his personal influence and counsels to outbalance an army. In his play of Richard III., act 4, scene 3, he makes Richard exclaim, when told of the defection of Buckingham and the escape of Morton, then Bishop of Ely,

"Ely with Richmond troubles me more near
Than Buckingham and his rash-levied strength."

Into the house, then, of the aged prelate-statesman Thomas More was introduced to learn there something of the knowledge not to be gained from books.

The full span of manly life lay between the present and the future Chancellor, for More was fifteen and Morton eighty-five. There, among the sons of the gentry, More took his place in the archiepiscopal retinue. His quick wit and attractive parts shortly drew the observant eye of the Cardinal. In the course of a long and varied life Morton had met with nearly every description of talent and character. He was old enough to have seen and to have repeatedly compared the promise of the springtime with the fruits of the autumn of life. The nature of his many offices had seconded and strengthened his natural bent, and had led him to study man. The motives that interest and govern men, the elements of feebleness and strength that run mysteriously intertwined in the composition of character, the various qualities that darken or illuminate,

that augur success in life or foretold failure, all these, hidden to ordinary insight, had become to his practiced vision a plain and open page. Such was the rare judge who first discerned the genius and foretold the coming greatness of Thomas More, for, sitting at table with the nobles who often came to dine with him, while his favorite page was busy attending to the guests, he was wont to say to them, "This child here, waiting at table, whosoever shall live to see it, will prove a marvellous rare man." If that be a true saying which informs us that earliest impressions are the most lasting, we are justified in assuming More's character to have been largely formed by his sagacious eulogist. We see it in the nature of the case. Morton, all that he has been described, at once Primate and Premier, venerable for years, celebrated for achievements, of acknowledged patriotism; in experience, in position, in power the first man of the kingdom. More, eager for knowledge and splendidly endowed with faculties for its acquisition, docile, reverential, gifted even at that age with extraordinary depth of penetration. Add to this the frequent intercourse, the reciprocal personal attraction existing between them, and the inevitable result is before us. It is pleasant to picture it, and the picture is shaded with pathos. These two, standing at the opposite extremes of life, one giving out from the storehouse of memory the ripe fruits which labor and time had gathered there, the other in haste to garner the abundant harvest. Now it would be some fundamental truth of theology or leading maxim of law, adorned with a comment, precious to illustrate its meaning or point out its application. Again, some principle of diplomacy lit up with a remark admirable for political wisdom. Or it would be a profound observation on society and its customs. A word of praise for some undervalued virtue, of censure or sarcasm on some popular folly.

Such were the pregnant germs of thought and action which, for more than two years, were sown by the sage Cardinal, advertently or inadvertently, as the case might happen, in the congenial nature of his young attendant.

From the service of the Cardinal, More passed, by his advice and under his auspices, to the University of Oxford. The period was a notable one. History marks it as the dawn of a glorious era for letters, the dawn of resurrection for the classics. The stir of a new movement agitated Europe. The passion for the ancient learning had come like the spirit of life to quicken and inspire with a sublime rage a race of students. Foremost of that generation outside of Italy, its morning star, rose Erasmus—Erasmus, who starved his body that he might afford to feed his mind, who dressed almost in rags that he might enrich and adorn his intellect; the associate of nobles, the favorite of monarchs, the delight and the envy of school-

ars, whose name must be ever coupled with the revival and triumph of classical learning, though unhappily, also, with the disdainful, self-sufficient spirit fatal to obedience, if not to faith. Erasmus was at Oxford when More entered it, and therefore he was More's senior by fifteen years. The two immediately became fast friends.

Community of feeling even in one particular has frequently been a bond strong enough to hold hearts together for a lifetime. The friendship of More and Erasmus was made up of many such ties. Akin in taste, in wit, in penetration, in genius, theirs was a friendship which ceased only when the head of More fell under the axe of the executioner. In the companionship, and friendship too, not only of Erasmus, but of Grocyn, Linære, and Colet (in the history of letters all illustrious names), More mastered in a few years all that Oxford could give, and, crowned with all its honors and praises, left it to enter on that career which has made his name and memory imperishable. On leaving the University, More devoted himself to the study of the law. His reputation for learning and ability soon spread, and his practice rapidly became lucrative and eminent. For three years he gave lectures on Law at Furnival's Inn and at the Old Jewry; in the Church of St. Lawrence he expounded to the best talent of London, St. Augustine's masterwork, *De Civitate Dei*. At this period of his life biographers take notice of his austerities; they were simply rigorous. For a time he hung undecided in regard to his vocation, but his final choice approved his judgment. He married Jane Colt, a young lady of good family. His union was as happy as God ever blessed, and when six years had passed away, and the young wife on whom he had poured out the fulness of the affection and tenderness of his heart had yielded her spirit to God, one son and three daughters remained, the pledges of their wedded happiness and love. He was in his twenty-fourth year when appointed Undersheriff of London, and thus judge of civil causes; an office of dignity and emolument. The learning and virtues of its incumbent, it need hardly be said, shed new lustre on the first, but with regard to the second attraction of the office, More seemed to covet it, in great measure, for the opportunities it afforded him in the frequent remission of his just dues, of becoming an almoner.

Then as we have seen he entered Parliament, and in that famous outburst of eloquence, the first an English Parliament had ever heard, in which his indignant soul rose up against injustice, even as his laboring voice struggled with the difficulties of an undeveloped language, his was a double victory, the victory of right over wrong, and of genius over a tongue, which in the path of eloquence acknowledged him its first master. Fortunately for More the irate tyrant departed this life just in time to hinder More's departure for

exile, and the paths of distinction broadened and brightened before him.

Henry the VIII. sat upon the throne of his father. Young, handsome, accomplished, the idol of the people; himself a scholar and the patron of scholars; happy with Catharine his queen. No pretended scruple lay heavy on his conscience then; the tiger passions, which rank him with Nero and Caligula, were quiescent and invisible. It was the period of gayety. Wolsey, still young, not yet a Cardinal, was quickly rising in favor; and Thomas More was busily engaged in practice, yielding an annual income of from five to seven thousand pounds. He was now living at Chelsea; he had married again, Erasmus tells us, for his children's sake. His second choice was a widow, Alice Middleton, seven years older than himself, who was not remarkable either for her beauty or the sweetness of her temper, but she was kind to the children and careful of his interests; and notwithstanding her little acerbities she was by no means a Xantippe.

The household of Thomas More was, to use a badly abused word, unique. Its every lineament evidenced the impress of his mental and moral character. Holbein the painter and Erasmus the scholar have jointly bequeathed to posterity a transcript of its faces and its manners. It was probably as near an approach as poor humanity is ever likely to make to the perfect pattern of the Christian family. Religion, not strait-laced sanctimoniousness, but piety, fervent and practical, making the glad heart shine out through glistening eyes; religion, the source and bond of peace, was the governing spirit of that happy household, the sunshine of its atmosphere, the mainspring of its happiness. It was More's care, as it was his dearest delight, daily to gather his entire household, children and servants, in his oratory or private chapel, for prayer and spiritual exercise. There night after night, as his children grew, and indeed after they had married, for they so loved that even then they refused to leave him, he was wont to read some portion of the Scripture and recite, while all his house joined solemnly in answering chorus, beautiful and appropriate collects and litany. The proper management of his domestic concerns More reckoned among the foremost of his obligations, and in this never did man meet with more perfect success. And he deserved it, for he had studied his children with more attentive care than he had ever studied his books; and he took more pains to correct them of one fault, to root out one germ of evil, to train and mature them in one virtue than he gave to the composition of his immortal *Utopia*. To each member of his house he assigned special and suitable occupations, and with such admirable discernment and discretion that the whole, without jar or jangle, moved harmoniously on.

There was an irresistible magnetism about the man; it was impossible to resist him. High and low, strangers and intimate friends alike confessed the spell. It is not to be wondered at then that his children became eminent for scholarship. For, after virtue, learning was what his great soul most thirsted for, and learning based on virtue, learning varied, extensive, profound, he was sedulous they should acquire. The Mathematics, Astronomy, Music, History, the Latin and Greek classics, Philosophy, these were the studies he won rather than obliged them to pursue. And he had an apt school. "You might imagine yourself," said Erasmus, "in the Academy of Plato, only, I should do injustice to (More's house) by comparing it to the Academy of Plato: it would be more just to call it a school and exercise of the Christian Religion; for while all its inhabitants devoted themselves to liberal studies, piety was their care."

There then at Chelsea More amused his scant leisure, reading books and writing them. It is the faculty of genius not only to do wonderful things, but to do them in wonderful ways and under wonderful circumstances. The divine fire must sparkle and flash in all its various moods in its play no less than in its labor, and the effects of its play oftentimes astonish and delight more than the best fruits of its labor. Of that class of extraordinary men whose transcendent mental powers enable them in a few broken scraps of time to strike off a master work for the delight and instruction of ages Thomas More was a leading member. He complains that he has no time for books. His legal practice, the cares of official life, the frequent calls for his presence at the royal court, where his wit had made him a favorite, consumed it; and he declares that to satisfy his love for letters he is forced to rob nature and spend in study hours that should be devoted to sleep. Yet, burdened as he is with the cares and labors of public and professional life, he carries on a correspondence with the first scholars of Europe; writes poems to win the admiration of "rare Ben Jonson;" without a model in his own language turns historian and produces the History of Edward V. Agnes Strickland calls it "eloquent and classical." Shakspeare founds on it his play of Richard III., and in places copies the exact wording. At that period the English language was comparatively unformed, yet Sir James Mackintosh does not hesitate to say that the larger part of More's vocabulary is still in use, that his English is superior to that of a century later, and styles him the father of English prose. The literary merit of More is itself ample subject for a separate paper, and the limits of this forbid more than a brief allusion to this aspect of his character. We must dismiss it with the eulogium which Lord Campbell bestows on his greatest and best-known work, *Utopia*.

"Since the time of Plato," he says, "there had been no composition given to the world which for imagination, for philosophical discrimination, for familiarity with the principles of government, for knowledge of the springs of human action, for a keen observation of men and manners, and for felicity of expression, could be compared with Utopia." "To its composition," he again says, "he attached no importance; it occupied a few of his idle hours; it was with difficulty he was persuaded to publish it, yet of itself it would have made his name immortal."

The fame of More's attainments drew to his fireside the distinguished men not only of his own but of foreign countries; laymen and ecclesiastics, soldiers and civilians, the artist, the poet, the scholar. There have been literary celebrities who, except for some few, are attractive only in their books; men who have personally no charm. They are cold or strange, eccentric or disagreeable. Like Addison, their frigid reserve freezes the stranger; or, after the fashion of Dr. Johnson, their queer behavior or overbearing temper repel him. But with More, those whom the lustre of his genius attracted, the spell of his presence and conversation enchained. The manly simplicity of his character, the cordial urbanity of his manners, the quick whole-souled sympathy that enlisted itself to advance merit, to relieve the needy, to further every generous and praiseworthy undertaking, the broad and solid common-sense men felt they might freely appeal to and rest on in difficulties as their surest support and safest guidance, such were the bands that bound hearts to his, aside from his merit as an author, and made of his literary admirers devoted personal friends. Then beyond all these elements of power in his character as a man, there was that crowning fascination, the combination of a humor and a wit unequalled in their day. It has sometimes occurred to the writer that if the greatest of dramatists had ever been in want of a model for the wit and humor of his Falstaff, he must have found it in Sir Thomas More. We may take from More many splendid gifts, and we still retain in almost undiminished beauty the admirable proportions of his finely balanced and many-sided character; for he was so rich in noble qualities that out of his superabundance he could spare enough for the building up, in heart and head, of a very respectable man. But his wit and his humor must be let alone; deprived of them he is no longer Thomas More. These are essential constituents of his, interpenetrating his whole nature; without them it is impossible to form a just conception of him. His humor was never coarse, never farcical, but it was most unctuous, unflinching, and it lasted for life. When the stress of misfortune came it grew on occasions to be half pathetic, but even then one magical phrase was often sufficient to change tears of sorrow into

tears of uncontrollable laughter. Then his wit was the soul of every circle in which he moved; and it was what wit seldom is, without a tincture of venom; but it was quick and bright as a flash, and reached the heart of its mark with the force and precision of a shot. William Wordsworth says all when he tells us that—

“ His gay genius played
With the inoffensive sword of native wit,
Than the bare axe, more luminous and keen.”

More's political preferment kept pace with the spread of his literary reputation. Wolsey, now the prime favorite, held, and his views were shared by the King, that such splendid talents and varied acquirements were of too great value to be exclusively devoted to the law or the administration of merely municipal office. Much against his own wishes and only after many solicitations was More induced, by degrees, to give up the practice of his profession for the less profitable, more brilliant but dangerous career of the statesman. The unsanctified rivalries of the court, its plottings, its brazenfaced hypocrisy, its sycophantic smiles, its unchastened gayety, its meretricious dazzle, these were not the attractions likely to seduce his upright and constant soul. It despised and loathed them, and his repugnance grew with the measure of his dignities, but the selfish and fatal favor of his royal master had selected him for its victim, and More became in a wider and more exalted sphere the public servant of Henry VIII.

In the year 1514, he was first employed as a representative of majesty on a mission to Bruges, for the settlement of some difficulties affecting the commercial intercourse of England with the Netherlands. The following year he repeated his visit with a similar purpose, and on his return his success was rewarded with a seat in the Privy Council. Five years passed during which he looked after the King's interest in the Netherlands and in France, with what great sacrifice to his comfort, his tastes, and even his purse, his letters abundantly testify. “ I approve your determination,” he wrote to Erasmus from Calais, “ never to be involved in the busy trifling of princes, from which, as you love me, you must wish that I were extricated. You cannot imagine how painfully I feel myself plunged in them, for nothing can be more odious to me than this legation. I am here banished to a petty seaport, of which the air and the earth are equally disagreeable. Abhorrent, as I am by nature, from strife, even when it is profitable, as at home, you may judge how wearisome it is here, where it is attended by loss.” In 1521 he was knighted and made Treasurer of the Exchequer. Two years later a Parliament was held, and he became, in spite of his protest to the King, Speaker of the House of Commons. Seven-

teen years previous he had upheld on its floor the rights of the people against the unjust exactions of royalty; and his first act as Speaker was every way worthy of his youth. In an address to the Throne he petitions for the Commons perfect liberty of speech, "so that," to use his own language, "every man may discharge his conscience, and boldly in every incident among us declare his advice." The other notable incident of his Speakership was, the practical assertion by the House of Commons of its liberty of speech and freedom of action when, under his leadership, it baffled Cardinal Wolsey in his efforts to obtain an exorbitant grant for the King. More's firmness and quiet independence on this occasion, though it displeased Wolsey, did not deprive him of the King's favor. Never in fact did he stand higher. Within two years of this occurrence he was named Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. On the memorable meeting of the Kings of England and France, he was chosen to deliver the address of congratulation. When the Emperor Charles the V. landed in England, it was More that welcomed him, and in terms so happily eloquent as to win the sincere praise of Charles and all his retinue. So far did the condescending favor of Henry extend, so eager even was he for the company of his favorite, that when constant attendance at the court became intolerably irksome to More, putting aside all ceremony, he went often to Chelsea, dined at More's table without previous notice, as any ordinary guest, walked with him in the gardens or sat with him in the house, discoursing in familiar phrase on a variety of topics, reaching from court matters and politics to divinity and the science of the stars. On one occasion especially the King manifested unusual friendliness, leaning on More's shoulder, or walking up and down with his arm about his neck. Roper, More's son-in-law, observed it and was delighted, and on Henry's departure expressed his gratification; but More, with an almost superhuman insight into the true character of the King, made answer: "I thank our Lord I find his Grace my very good Lord indeed; and I believe he doth as singularly favor me as any subject in this realm. Howbeit, son Roper, I may tell thee I have no cause to be proud thereof; for if my head would win a castle in France, it should not fail to go." The foul character, whose baseness More alone was keen enough to penetrate, was now quickly developing. A satanic pride, an insatiate sensualism, a cruelty absolutely merciless, combined in his later years to form in Henry a very incarnation of evil. At this period hardly a shade betrayed the existence of these malign qualities, but they were then advancing day by day to their horrible maturity. It needed but the occasion to provoke the outburst. The storm was brewing. The first faint mutter was heard of that appalling tempest which in its earliest breath swept

imperial-minded Wolsey from the pinnacle of power, crushed and broken-hearted, to a dishonored grave, and blasted the existence of the illustrious daughter of Isabella the Catholic. The darkest and saddest page of the history of England was soon to be written. The time was not far distant when its scaffolds should be drenched, first, in the blood of martyrs for conscience sake, and thereafter in that of martyrs of a different and less holy description; when, at the caprice of a despot, it was to be, of a sudden, cut loose from the ancient holdings which bound it to the centre of Catholic unity and suffered to drift to religious shipwreck. The question of divorce, based ostensibly on the King's scruples respecting the validity of his marriage with Catharine, now rose to prominence. Wolsey, at the outset, apparently favorable to the divorce, grew reluctant as the suit proceeded, and his disgrace was decided on. The year 1529 witnessed his fall and the elevation of More to his vacant seat. The office of Lord Chancellor was not less eminent for its rank, honors, and requirements, than for the glorious roll of its historic occupants. Whatever of legal wisdom, of high moral and intellectual worth England had been able to produce in the course of five centuries, had found there its amplest and highest representation. Thomas a'Becket, hero, saint and martyr, between whom and More exist so many points of resemblance; William of Wickham, bishop of Winchester and architect of Windsor Castle; Cardinal Morton, of Canterbury, of whom mention has been already made; Archbishop Warham, of the same see; Thomas Wolsey, of York: these and others had, in their day, reflected on that exalted position the splendor of their own unquestioned greatness. In Thomas More it received an increase of lustre which the brightest luminary in the resplendent galaxy of his predecessors may endeavor vainly to eclipse, and which no star, though it be a Bacon or a Clarendon in the brilliant constellation of his successors, has ever been able to outshine. He accepted the office with unwillingness, for his forebodings had been in part verified, and he felt that it had no charms to compensate its perils. His installation was of extraordinary magnificence. Clad in the robes of office, attended by the first nobles of the kingdom, he proceeded to Westminster Hall, and there in the Stone Chamber, seated in the historic marble chair, was saluted as Lord High Chancellor. Then the voice of the nation through its chief peer, the Duke of Norfolk, in terms of eloquent but deserved eulogy, offered congratulation. And More, whose merit alone had without effort lifted him from degree to degree and from honor to honor, until it had set him on the topmost round of dignity and power, More was neither dazzled nor delighted. His vision was too clear, his judgment too perfect to suffer either. He rose to reply; and after expressing his obliga-

tions to the King, and his high sense of the dignity conferred, he said: "This weight is hardly suitable to my weak shoulders; this honor is not correspondent to my poor deserts. It is a burden, not glory; a care, not a dignity; the one, therefore, I must bear as manfully as I can, and discharge the other with as much dexterity as I shall be able." And as he said, he did. He brought to the duties of his office a conscientious zeal that shrank from no labor. Immediately he made it his aim to clear away the impediments that clogged the wheels of office, and he succeeded admirably. Adjourned or partly heard suits were brought up and soon disposed of, long-delayed cases had at last the long-sighed-for hearing. Business moved briskly and with precision, and one day, when More ascended the judicial seat, a marvel occurred unheard of before or since: he called for the next case, and was told the last had been decided; there were none in waiting. This incident is commemorated in the following bit of punning doggerel:

"When *More* some time had Chancellor been,
No *more* suits did remain;
The same shall never *more* be seen
Till *More* be there again."

Yet with all this zealous assiduity to duty, with all this economy of time, nothing was done in haste or inconsiderately, nothing unbefitting the lofty decorum due to his dignity. No man, indeed, was more affable. The meanest beggar that strolled the streets of London was as sure as the titled gentleman of a patient and attentive hearing. No man was so easy of access. That awe-inspiring ceremonial and half Persian multiplicity of forms in which the haughtiness of Wolsey loved to enshroud itself, was done away with. No regiment of bribe-loving, bribe-taking officials now stood between the suitor and the judge. More sat in an open hall of afternoons, and therein might enter without let or hindrance whosoever had a right to claim, or a grievance to redress. The peculiar and crowning attribute of the judge is justice, in so far as he conceives it, and inflexible impartiality in its administration. And More was a just judge. "If parties," he once said, "will call for justice and equity, although my father, whom I reverence dearly, were on one side, and the devil, whom I hate extremely, were on the other, if the devil's cause be just, then shall the devil have his right."

To this father of whom he thus spoke he always proved, in public not less than in private life, an affectionate and devoted son. The exhibition of unfeigned filial devotion is in all cases a strong and direct appeal to the deepest and holiest feelings of our nature; and whether deserved or undeserved by the parent, it cannot fail

to do honor to the child. It is a pleasure to say that the father of Thomas More was in every way worthy of his illustrious son. At ninety his intellect remained unclouded, and he still occupied his old place and office. And day by day as the King's Lord High Chancellor passed before the simple justice of King's Bench on his way to his own superior tribunal, the admiring people beheld this great man pause, uncover, kneel, and receive his father's blessing. Thomas More was fifty then, and his own grandchildren gambolled about him at Chelsea. Fame had laden him with her praises, royalty with its dignities, merit with its rewards, but he felt that he was not too old to render even public homage and give public testimony to the virtues of a father; and he believed that fame had no praise, royalty no dignity, his merit no reward, to equal the consciousness of having followed the impulses of a grateful heart, and obeyed the plain, strong dictates of his own reason. Actions which to shallow and worldly-minded men appeared unsuited to one in his high position, were to his more manly taste and better judgment invested with a dignity his ermine could never bring. Especially was this the case when the matter touched religious duty or service. It was his custom to hear Mass every morning, and to serve it; and, did any affair require unusual circumspection, his method of preparation led him to confess and communicate. In those beautiful and imposing processions, which in countries distinctively Catholic are still to be seen on various solemnities, it was his pride to lead with the processional cross; and once, in Rogation Week, when the procession was unusually long and wearisome, and it was his place to follow, instead of bearing the cross, being asked to take horse, he answered: "Indeed it ill becomes the master to go afoot and his servant go prancing on horseback." The Duke of Norfolk came one day to Chelsea to dine with More, and to his surprise found him in the parish church with surplice on, an open hymn-book before him, singing lustily. As they returned together to More's house, the Duke broke out: "'Sdeath, man! What, my Lord Chancellor a parish clerk! Why, man, you dishonor the King and his office!" But More only smiled, and said: "Nay, your Grace must not think that the King, your master and mine, will be offended with me for serving his Master, nor that thereby his office is at all dishonored."

Kings have never long to wait for active and unscrupulous ministers of their vices. As the baseness of Henry's nature unfolded, unprincipled men beheld and rejoiced at their opportunity, and he was soon surrounded by advisers with consciences as tender as his own. Chief among those in the royal confidence may be mentioned Thomas Cromwell, who, without the noble and redeeming qualities of Wolsey, possessed all his ambition; Thomas Cranmer, pliant

and astute, the disgrace of the See of St. Thomas and St. Anselm; Thomas Audley, destined to be More's successor, of whom Lord Campbell wrote: "No eunuch in a seraglio was ever a more submissive tool of the caprice and vengeance of a passionate and remorseless master." These were the creatures the King set at his right hand, and by whose counsels he assumed to be guided. As first law officer of the crown, More was brought into constant contact with these men and others of a similar stamp. He foresaw that the course such men under such a master would pursue must be iniquitous. Fully aware of his own great weight with the people, and of the high value which on that account the King set upon his services; conscious, too, of the probable peril, of the great and certain pecuniary loss to which his resignation of the Great Seal must expose him, that step was not to be taken without mature and prayerful deliberation. The enlightened dictates of a conscience neither timorous nor overbold made the straight path of duty daily more apparent, and in obedience to that guide which, through life, he steadfastly followed, he reached his final determination, and prepared to meet the imminent crisis. The matter of divorce had now been long pending, and the King grew impatient. More held back. Henry spoke to him, urging instant and decisive action. The Chancellor, seeing that the critical moment had at last arrived, answered: "Remember the words your Grace spoke to me when you intrusted the Great Seal to my keeping, 'First look upon God, and after God look upon me.' It grieves me that in this matter I cannot serve your Grace without a breach of that injunction." Shortly after, and when he had been Chancellor for little more than two years and a half, he resigned that Seal, which no man had held with more honor, into the hands of his offended, though dissembling sovereign. So ended the splendid public career, and so was shut the spotless official record of Sir Thomas More.

He left the royal presence a poor and an honest man, but his heart was bounding with gladness that, come what might, he was at last freed from the distressing and spiritually perilous burden of public care. He hastened to Chelsea to acquaint his family with his resignation. From that moment every unnecessary expense was cut off. His barge he presented to Lord Audley, his successor; his servants he dismissed to situations he exerted himself to obtain for them in the families of his friends. Then he called his family about him. "I have," he said, "for yearly income little above a hundred pounds, and if we still wish to live together we must be contributaries together. I have been brought up on different kinds of diet, from the lowest at Oxford to the highest at King's Court. We will not descend to the lowest first, but we will give up King's

Court diet and take to the next lowest fare, which, if we find ourselves the first year not able to maintain, then will we in the next year come down to Oxford fare, which if our purses maintain neither, then may we after with bag and wallet go begging together, hoping that for pity some good folks will give us their charity, and at every man's door sing a *Salve Regina*, whereby we shall all keep company and be merry together."

Nearly a year passed, the quietest, perhaps the happiest of More's life, while the tempest was gathering strength for its deadly outburst. That year he devoted mainly to prayer and to the study of the old authors among whom his youth and manhood had loved to dwell. The wish of his life was fulfilled, and he wrote to his old friend and fellow-student Erasmus that "now he had obtained what he had earnestly desired from a child, that being free from business and public affairs he might live for a time only to God and himself."

At Easter, 1533, Anne Boleyn was proclaimed Queen of England. More had received an invitation to attend the coronation services, and twenty pounds for the purchase of a robe suitable for the occasion. He accepted of neither. The new Queen regarded his absence as an insult. She never forgave, and determined to avenge it. Not long after, her father, Lord Wiltshire, More's open enemy, presided at a sitting of the Privy Council, before which More was summoned to appear to answer charges of corruption while in office. Up to that time no man had dared breathe a word touching his spotless integrity, and after that official inquiry, which was successful only in manifesting the malice of the Earl and the falsity of the accusations, it remained unquestioned. Then followed an attempt to fasten on himself and Bishop Fisher the more dangerous charge of abetting treason in approving the ravings of poor Elizabeth Burton, an epileptic, whom Henry put to death for denouncing his separation from Queen Catharine. This, too, fell to the ground. The King's rage was hardly to be controlled, and his minions exhausted their subtlety in the construction of an oath which must force More into an open approval of the royal conduct, or afford ground for imprisonment. This was the oath: "I swear to bear faith and true allegiance to the King and the issue of his present marriage with Queen Anne, to acknowledge him the head of the Church of England, and to renounce all obedience to the Bishop of Rome as having no more power than any other bishop."

As he expected, More received a third summons. On the appointed day he left Chelsea with a heavy heart. He could not trust himself to bid his family the accustomed farewell, for he felt he was leaving it forever. He appeared before the Commission, and the oath was tendered him. He read it carefully, and then answered that with respect to its first part he was willing to swear that he

would maintain and defend the order of succession to the Crown as established by Parliament, but with regard to the second part, binding him to acknowledge the King as the head of the Church in England and renounce obedience to the Bishop of Rome, that he could not do without a violation of his conscience. The Commission would listen to no modification of the oath, but gave him a short space for reflection. On being recalled, still holding to his resolution, he was ordered as a state prisoner to the Tower.

He entered his prison with as serene a spirit as ever St. Antony entered his cell. He found there pen and ink, and wrote to his daughter Margaret an account of his action before the Commission. But pen and ink, it would seem, were material too precious in his hand, and in a few days he was deprived of them. Then with a half-burnt coal he wrote around on the walls such sentences as these from Holy Writ: "In peace in the selfsame I will sleep and take my rest." "Taste, and see how sweet is the Lord." "Who will give me wings like a dove, that I may fly away and be at rest?"

During his confinement, which he bore with uncomplaining fortitude, it seems to have been ordered in God's providence that his friends, no less than his enemies, should prove to him a source of trial. The rapacity of Henry had reduced his family to absolute distress. Never able fully to appreciate the exalted character of her husband, More's wife could not understand what she must have thought little better than obstinacy, when but one word was sufficient to regain liberty and the King's favor. She came to him with the burden of her sufferings, urging for his own and his children's sake, submission to the King's will. More answered her complainings with questions. "Tell me, my good wife," he said, "is not this house as near heaven as our own?" "And tell me," he said again, "how long might we enjoy life?" "Some twenty years, perhaps," she answered. "Truly now and had you said a thousand, that would be somewhat, and yet methinks it would be but a poor merchant that would put himself in danger of losing eternity for a thousand years." On the false information of Audley, Margaret hastened to tell her father that Fisher, who was likewise a rigorous prisoner in the Tower for refusal of the oath, had conformed to the King's wishes. "Believe it not," More said; "but if he has done so, that would be no precedent for sin." A similar report concerning More was conveyed to Fisher. The venerable prelate, then in his eightieth year, was surprised and deceived, but not shaken by the falsehood. More was his old friend, and the intelligence greatly pained him. "I am sorry his courage has failed him," he said; "he must have given in for the sake of his numerous and starving family; but it affects not me; I cannot make shipwreck of my conscience." When it was seen that no threats could disturb, no sufferings subdue the martyr spirit of these men, a Parliament

was summoned (as Parliaments have so often been summoned to do the King's will to the wronging of the people), and enacted a statute making it high treason to deny, either by writing or by word of mouth, the Monarch's spiritual supremacy. Determined and systematic efforts were then made by the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, Audley, Cromwell, and others, to lead More unawares into a verbal violation of the statute; but the subtlest schemes which unprincipled astuteness could devise, he almost instinctively comprehended. Never, indeed, were the prudence and penetration for which he was so distinguished, more luminously manifested; and the masterly skill with which he parried or eluded the adroit questionings of his visitors, invariably forced them to retire without advantage.

His answer to Cromwell is yet on record. "I am the King's true and faithful subject and daily beadsman, and pray for his Highness and all his, and all the realm; I do nobody no harm; I say none harm, I think none harm, but wish everybody good; and if this be not enough to keep a man alive, in good faith I long not to live." Last of all came Solicitor-General Rich, whose name stands symbol for the deepest disgrace of the English bar. More had known him from boyhood up, and was perfectly conversant with the infamy of his character. The ostensible object of his visit was to deprive the great scholar of the few books with which he was accustomed to solace his solitude; its true motive was to elicit from the captive some expression which might be tortured into treasonable meaning. In this he failed, but the books were taken, and as More saw his treasures borne away he closed his windows, saying with humorous sadness: "When all the tools and wares are gone, the shop windows may be shut up."

Fisher had been executed, and More's turn was now at hand. On the first day of July, 1535, after nearly fifteen months' imprisonment, he passed from the Tower through the well-known crowded streets to Westminster Hall, the scene of his mock trial. The sufferings of prison life had set their indelible stamp upon him. The sympathizing citizens of London wondered when they beheld a stooped, coarsely-clad old man, leaning heavily on his staff, move feebly by. His hair had whitened in the gloom of his prison, but the eye, that "window of the soul," had not lost its lustre, and was as untroubled and bright as the spirit that beamed through it.

Had the proudest memories of the past been needed to inspire the accused in that trying hour, no more fitting place than Westminster could have been selected. There, in that Hall, so familiar to his eyes, where he had so often knelt to receive his father's blessing; there, before that high tribunal where he himself had meted out justice, tempered, so far as the law allowed, with wise mercy; there, surrounded by the emblems and insignia of justice, but be-

fore corrupt judges and a packed jury, Thomas More stood for trial. "No such culprit," says Mackintosh, "stood at any European bar for a thousand years. It is from caution, rather than necessity, the ages of Roman domination are excluded." The charges, four in number, were read by the Attorney-General. Sir Christopher Hales Campbell epitomizes them as follows: 1st. The opinion the prisoner had given on the King's marriage. 2d. That he had written certain letters to Bishop Fisher, encouraging him to resist. 3d. That he had refused to acknowledge the King's supremacy. 4th. That he had positively denied it, and thereby attempted to deprive the King of his dignity and title. More, at that moment probably the first jurist in Europe, took up the charges in order, for he was his own advocate, pleading for his own life, though not eager to preserve it. His words were few, and as he bent his mind to the analysis of the charges, and examined them in relation to himself, it was clearly shown that the first, second, and fourth charges were false, and as regarded the third, his silence could not be susceptible of treasonable construction. His prosecutors were taken aback. Acquittal seemed of necessity imminent. The moment had come for a false charge to be substantiated by a false oath. Rich, from his place as prosecutor, moved to the witness stand, and under oath declared that the prisoner had to him, in conversation in the Tower, in positive terms denied the royal supremacy. More arose from the seat, which weakness had made necessary, to the vindication of his affronted honor. In words which, after the lapse of close on three hundred and fifty years, thrill us as we read, he laid bare the infamy of the accuser's life, pierced his testimony with irresistible logic, and proved it perjury. But, to men banded together for the commission of crime, the splendor of truth and the light of justice are alike intolerable. A pretence was sought, and in More's refusal to reveal the guiding motives of his conscience, and in the unsupported perjury of one witness, that pretence was found. Audley charged his jury. In fifteen minutes his jury returned, and the verdict was—guilty!

What further followed is quickly told. Audley's unpardonable breach of established usage in passing the illustrious prisoner by without question why penalty of death should not be pronounced, the dignified interruption and rebuke by which More reminded the Chancellor of his duty, the luminous and unanswerable argument wherein he demonstrated the illegality of the statute under which the verdict was rendered, the passing of the death-sentence, which removed the last restraint dictated by Christian prudence for the preservation of life, and immediately following that sentence, the eloquent recital from his unsealed lips of the high principles according to which his conscience was formed and governed; these are the facts which lead up to and prepare us for that sublimest

utterance of his life when, with the fulness of a saint's charity, he took final leave of those guilty of his death. "More have I not to say, my lords, but that like as the blessed apostle St. Paul was present and consented to the death of St. Stephen, keeping their clothes that stoned him to death, and yet they be now two holy saints in heaven, and there shall be friends together forever. So I verily trust and heartily pray that, though your lordships have been my judges on earth to condemnation, yet we may meet hereafter most merrily together to our everlasting joy. May God be with you and with my sovereign lord the King, and grant him faithful councillors."

His crowning trial yet awaited him. An anguish sharper than he had yet known remained to probe his deepest affections to the quick. Whatever was noblest and most tender in More's large and loving nature he had poured out on his eldest daughter Margaret. From her childhood she had been his great solace and his pride. Under his fostering care, heart and brain had unfolded and developed to rare perfection. The sharer of his genius and his learning, the most accomplished woman of the age, fame had spread the report of her acquirements throughout Europe. In form and feature beautiful, in greatness of soul his second self, she returned with a woman's passionate fervor the full measure of his love. Inherent fortitude had brought her forth to say to her father the final farewell and receive his last blessing. Bravely she awaited him at the Tower wharf, and when he landed, no longer able to restrain herself, she broke through the guard, threw her arms about his neck, and through her streaming tears could only sob: "My father, my father!" As More strained her to his heart in his still pent-up agony, he could only whisper: "My Meg!" for so he was used to call her; "my good daughter, God bless thee; I am innocent and about to die; it is God's will. Forgive those who have condemned me." For a moment they were parted, and the guards once again surrounded their prisoner. But Margaret in the very ecstasy of her great sorrow, ran back, burst again through the escort, and once more clung to her father in passionate embrace. Then the very soldiers wept, and the self-control of More seemed on the point of entirely giving way. His heart was riven, and the eye that quailed not in the face of death was dimmed with tears. The poet Rogers has gemmed this pathetic scene with his verse, and sings of Margaret as—

"The blushing maid,
Who through the streets as through a desert strayed,
And when her dear, dear father passed along
Would not be held; but bursting through the throng,
Halberd and battle-axe, kissed him o'er and o'er,
Then turned and went, then sought him as before,
Believing she should see his face no more."

Five days remained to him, and these he spent mostly in prayer. To Margaret, with a piece of coal, he wrote his last letter, filled with blessings and kind considerate messages for his family and friends. A courtier came to inform him that the King, out of his great clemency, had commuted his sentence, and that instead of being drawn and quartered, as was his doom, he should only be beheaded. "I thank the King heartily for his great kindness," said More, "but I pray God to preserve all my friends from such favors, and all my posterity from such pardons." On the morning of the 6th day of July, he was led to execution. When he arrived at the foot of the scaffold, too weak to ascend unassisted, he said to Sir William Kingston, his friend, and the Lieutenant of the Tower, "I pray you, sir, see me safe up, and for my coming down let me shift for myself." On the scaffold he knelt down and recited the psalm, *Miserere*. He arose and kissed the executioner, saying to him cheerfully: "Thou wilt do me this day the greatest benefit. Pluck up thy spirit, man, and be not afraid; my neck is very short; take heed, therefore, and strike not awry, to save thy credit." About his eyes with his own hands he bound a cloth. Calmly then and collectedly he rested his head upon the block, removed his beard that it might not embarrass the executioner, saying: "That at least never committed treason." The uplifted axe fell, parting head from body at the first stroke. Thus died Thomas More, witnessing with his death that fidelity to conscience of which his whole life had been an unbroken testimony.

In the crimson record of the martyrs of the faith, every name is its own title to glory, and to them who profess the creed More died for, his most exalted claim on their veneration is, that on that record his name is not the least glorious. But More's glory is Catholic also in this sense, that he has elicited enthusiastic admiration from mankind aside from all difference of religious belief. His most eloquent panegyrists reject that divine authority in the assertion of which he offered up his life. The poet Thomson thus celebrates his praise:

"Like Cato firm, like Aristides just,
Like rigid Cincinnatus, nobly poor,
A dauntless soul erect, who smiled on death."

"In no moral respect," says Sir James Mackintosh, "does Socrates appear to be his superior. No life in Plutarch is more full of happy sayings and striking retorts, but these are justly overlooked in the contemplation of that union of perfect simplicity and moral grandeur, which perhaps no other human being has so uniformly reached." "His character," says Lord Campbell, "both in public and private life, comes as near to perfection as our nature will permit." And

Dean Swift sets him side by side with Junius and Marcus, Brutus, Socrates, Epaminondas and Cato the younger, as the solitary modern. "A sextumvirate to which all the ages of the world cannot add a seventh."

A survey of More's character can hardly fail to justify the high estimate placed upon it by these distinguished authorities. No one can contemplate it without being impressed by the superior excellence it evinces in each of its manifold aspects. It exhibits to us a man remarkable for the splendor, depth, and variety of his genius. It brings before us a scholar of marvellous attainments, a philosopher, the first of his age, a wit, a poet, a lawyer, a statesman, three centuries in advance of his time. We learn, furthermore, that as a man, he was of unblemished integrity, and in a corrupt age, of incorruptible justice as a judge; that he was of so unambitious a cast, that, as Erasmus testifies, "he shunned the rewards and dignities of kings, with as much assiduity as other men seek them;" that his social and domestic virtues made his fireside famous; and finally, that he united to exalted sanctity the intrepid resolution and heroism of a martyr. It is true, indeed, that before and since his day there have been men blessed with even richer intellectual dower, men of vaster genius, of an equal, perhaps more brilliant wit, of a riper scholarship. There have been men far more eminent in their zeal for good, in their manifest holiness of life; of a charity more marked, of courage as indomitable, of personal sacrifice every whit as great as his. But there seems to be no one in whom *all* these properties, intellectual and moral, are found united in the same high degree. That is, that while there have been men greater in special departments in the realm of intellect as in the empire of morals, it seems impossible to find one, who at an equal level, combines in such admirable proportions, and blends in such exquisite harmony, so many and varied excellences. In this incomparable equipoise and union of mental and moral power lies, we believe, Thomas More's transcendent prerogative. In any age and under any circumstances his intellect alone must have secured him fame; the great natural qualities of his heart won him respect and love. His writings and the deeds of his official life sufficiently attest the greatness of his mind; it needed the severest trials of adversity to bring to light the full grandeur of his moral nature. It is in this latter regard especially that More is known, honored, and loved. There is no hazard run in saying, that so long as men shall admire and be inspired to emulate what is good and beautiful, More must occupy his proud pedestal as the hero whose matchless simplicity of character, steadfast fortitude, and imperturbable tranquillity of soul make up a perfection, which profane history will find it impossible to surpass, and most difficult to equal. To him,

if to any one, should be applied, as most justly deserved, the lines of that "poet of a thousand years," Alexander Pope :

"A soul supreme, in each hard instance tried,
Above all pain, all anger and all pride,
The rage of power, the blast of public breath,
The lust of lucre and the dread of death."

THE TOTAL SOLAR ECLIPSE OF JULY 29TH, 1878.

THERE is no doubt whatever that the eclipse which will sweep over the United States next July will be observed as no eclipse has been observed before. The wealth of men, the wealth of instruments, and the wealth of skill in all matters astronomical, already accumulated there, makes us Old Country people almost gasp when we try to picture to ourselves what the golden age will be there, when already they are so far ahead of us in so many particulars.

"Draper, Hall, Harkness, Holden, Langley, Newcomb, Peters, Peirce, Pickering, Rutherford, Trouvelot, and last, but not least, Young, are the names that at once run easily off the pen to form a skeleton list, capable of considerable expansion with little thought when one thinks of the men who will be there. One knows, too, that all the enthusiasm of devoted students and all the appliances of modern science—appliances in the creation of which many of those named have borne a noble part—will not be lacking, so that we may be sure that not only old methods but all possible new ones will be tried to make this year one destined to be memorable in the annals of science side by side with 1706, 1851, 1860, and other later years."

It is thus that the eminent English astronomer and physicist, J. Norman Lockyer, F.R.S., F.A.S., began, a few months ago, an article on the then "Coming Total Solar Eclipse" of July 29th. The conclusion of the same article is couched in the following complimentary terms: "I have little doubt that the preparations of the skilled astronomers of the United States include many surprises and daring attempts among the solid work which we are quite certain of. All here wish them the extremest measure of success, which I am sure their efforts will do more than command."

These words, so flattering to us Americans, are not the only mark of the unlimited confidence which English scientists place in

us. One of these gentlemen being asked why England had failed to send out an eclipse expedition, replied that it would be an unwarranted expenditure of public funds, since others could make the desired observations at much less expense, and, to say the least, quite as well as English astronomers. Though neither England nor any other European power felt called upon to make an appropriation for the benefit of observers, evidently by reason of their confidence in the ability of American scientists and of the interest they knew our government would manifest in the matter, yet this fact did not prevent several foreign astronomers, Mr. Lockyer among others, from visiting the line of totality at their own expense.

It may seem egotistic to attribute this apparent neglect of foreign powers to their trust in us, but a glance at the enormous outlay made by the same powers on the occurrence of similar events in the past will at once establish our claims to merit. And now it is a source of national pride to be able to aver that what was done here in the United States during the late total solar eclipse justifies the confidence which Europe placed in our ability and scientific zeal.

As the newspapers kept the public informed of the incredible number that responded to the call of science, we need not attempt an exact enumeration; suffice it to remark, that besides the many observers sent out by the Naval Observatory at Washington—fifteen, if we mistake not, for which purpose Congress, at the request of Admiral Rodgers, appropriated \$8000—nearly every large educational institution in the land sent representatives, to whom not a few intelligent and skilful assistants, mostly amateurs, were joined. The Fathers of the Society of Jesus, following the example of their European brethren in the past, also inaugurated an expedition, composed of professors from their colleges of Georgetown, D.C., and Woodstock, Md., and placed it under the direction of Rev. B. Sestini, formerly of the Roman College Observatory.

It is hoped that the following summary, incomplete as it must necessarily be, of the work performed during the eclipse, will prove in some measure interesting to the readers of the *AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW*. We feel called upon to submit at once an account of this work, since an exhaustive discussion and examination of the various observations made by different parties may require years for completion.

But let us premise a few remarks bearing upon the subject in hand. Total eclipses of the sun have in all ages attracted the attention of man, but with very different effects. Objects of terror to the ignorant and superstitious, they are longed for by the astronomer as presenting the best, though exceedingly rare, phe-

nomena for studying the principal body in our system. An uninformed reader on learning the fact that of the seven possible eclipses in a year five are of the sun, and that, at least, two solar eclipses occur yearly, while there are years destitute of a lunar eclipse, may be at a loss to understand how total solar eclipses are so rare. Without entering into the scientific explanation, suffice it to produce the subjoined facts. On any one spot of the earth's surface lunar eclipses are more frequent than solar. Thus, while the former were often seen at Paris during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, only one total eclipse of the sun was visible to the Parisians during the same period, that of 1724. London beheld one since 1140, namely, in 1715. Thus, too, the line of totality of a coming total solar eclipse will, from present calculations, pass through Berlin on the 19th of August, 1887, offering the first and last opportunity to its inhabitants to employ their smoked glass in the present century. The reason that these phenomena are so rare is evident. Lunar eclipses are visible to about one-half the earth's surface, whilst the solar, which are often partial and annular, are seen in comparatively few localities. Many times, too, since three-fourths of our globe is covered by water, they are visible only at sea, and when the line of totality does reach the land, it is often in points almost inaccessible.

From these few remarks we understand at once why the eclipses of August, 1869, and of July, 1878, were so precious to the scientific mind of America. It is only since 1842 that astronomers, by reason of the perfection attained in scientific apparatus, have been able to observe eclipses with successful results. The principal ones observed from that date till 1860, when the corona was first photographed by Rev. A. Secchi, S.J., and Warren de la Rue, in Spain, were that of 1842, which swept over France, Italy, and Austria, an admirable report of which was given by the well-known Englishman, Baily; that of 1851, observed in Sweden by English, German, and Russian astronomers; and that of 1853 and 1857, visible in South America. Chili was visited by one a little later, and a very good drawing of the corona was executed by Rev. P. Cappelliti, S.J. But the success attending observations made during the eclipses of August, 1868, and August 7th, 1869, the first visible in Asia and Oceanica, the second in the United States, surpassed all preceding efforts, the perfection which photography had reached and the novel application of spectrum analysis producing unlooked-for results. These results were fully confirmed during the subsequent eclipses of 1870 in Spain and Italy, of 1871 in Sweden, and 1875 in Southern Africa and Asia. The late eclipse was regarded as the return of that of July 18th, 1860. The dark shadow of the moon first struck the earth at sunrise, in the province of Irkoutsk,

Siberia, in longitude $165^{\circ} 25'$ west of Washington, and latitude $54^{\circ} 14'$ north. Its course was first east-northeast, but gradually changed to east, and, after leaving Asia, to southeast. It crossed Behring's Straits, in latitude $66^{\circ} 40'$ north, in an easterly direction, passed a little northeast of Sitka, crossed the British Possessions towards the southeast, and entered the United States in longitude 38° west of Washington. The shadow, about 116 miles in breadth, swept over the western end of Montana Territory, the Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming Territory, Colorado, and Northern and Eastern Texas, and entered the Gulf of Mexico between New Orleans and Galveston. It then passed over most of the island of Cuba and Southern San Domingo, and left the earth a little southeast of the latter island.

The moon's shadow, according to the *English Nautical Almanac*, struck the earth at 2h. 9m. 59.9s. Washington mean time, and left it at 7h. 7m. 35.9s., hence the absolute time occupied by the shadow in sweeping over the earth was 4h. 57m. 36s. The greatest duration of the total phase, 3m. 10s., occurred in the British Possessions. This was much less than the possible duration for that latitude, which is about 6m., whilst on the equator it may reach 7m. 58s. In the United States the maximum time of the phase did not exceed 3m. 7s. This was reached in Montana Territory, and diminished southward.

To enumerate the devoted scientific groups scattered along the line of totality would surpass the limits of the present paper; we can only mention a few. In Wyoming Territory, where the favorable points of observation were Creston, Rawlings, and Separation, along the Union Pacific Railroad, were stationed Professors Newcomb, Watson, and Harkness, Dr. Draper, Mr. Lockyer, Prof. Edison, and others. The desirable locations in Colorado were Denver, Pike's Peak, where General Myer, chief signal officer, observed; Central City, at which Prof. Holden was stationed; and in the southern part, West Las Aminas, Fort Lyons, and La Junta, where Professors A. Hall, Eastman, and others had taken up their positions. At Denver, latitude $39^{\circ} 45'$ north, and longitude $28^{\circ} 1'$ west of Washington, were stationed the Princeton College Expedition, under the direction of Prof. Young, and that of Vassar College, under Miss Mitchell. Our own little band occupied a position a mile east of the city, on an eminence about 5500 feet above sea-level.

The sky at Denver, for several days preceding the 29th, was overcast, and the dread of an insignificant clump of clouds creeping over the solar disk on the day of the eclipse haunted the waking and dreaming hours of not a few. But a cloudless sky, never

before beheld so thankfully, greeted our eyes on the morning and during the day of the 29th.

The orbital rate of the moon from west to east, being about thirteen times more rapid than the apparent yearly motion of the sun in the same direction, hence on the occasion of a solar eclipse any telescope, which does not reverse the image, will present the moon first coming into contact with the solar disk, and then passing over it from west to east. This first contact occurred at our station at 2h. 19m. 30s., mean Denver time. The second contact, or beginning of totality, took place at 3h. 29m. 3s., and ended at 3h. 31m. 43s.; hence the totality lasted 2m. 40s. The last contact or end of the eclipse occurred at 4h. 34m. 55s., the total duration being 2h. 15m. 25s. It may not be out of place to note here the changes observed near our station in the thermometer and psychrometer. It will be noticed in the following table, that the thermometer exposed to the rays of the sun indicated a lower temperature than the one in the shade.

The maximum during the day, 34° C., was reached at about 5 P.M.

Variation of the Thermometer and Psychrometer during the Total Eclipse of the Sun, July 29th, 1878.

| CENTIGRADE SCALE. | Time of observation. | Thermometer exposed to the sun. | Dry thermometer in the shade. | Wet thermometer in the shade. | Relative humidity. |
|---------------------|----------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------|
| | h. m. | | | | |
| Begin'g of eclipse, | 2.10 | 45.0 | 31.1 | 16.1 | 13.3 |
| | 2.20 | 44.7 | 31.1 | 16.1 | 13.3 |
| | 2.30 | 42.2 | 31.7 | 16.1 | 11.9 |
| | 2.40 | 38.1 | 31.7 | 16.1 | 11.9 |
| | 2.50 | 37.5 | 31.4 | 16.4 | 13.4 |
| | 3.00 | 35.3 | 31.1 | 16.6 | 15.7 |
| | 3.10 | 32.8 | 30.8 | 16.6 | 17.2 |
| | 3.20 | 31.1 | 30.0 | 16.6 | 18.9 |
| | 3.30 | 29.2 | 29.5 | 16.6 | 20.6 |
| | 3.31 | 28.3 | 29.2 | 16.4 | 19.7 |
| Total eclipse, | 3.32 | 27.7 | 29.2 | 16.4 | 19.7 |
| | 3.40 | 28.6 | 28.6 | 16.4 | 21.5 |
| | 3.50 | 29.4 | 28.3 | 16.1 | 21.5 |
| | 4.00 | 31.1 | 28.9 | 16.6 | 22.4 |
| | 4.10 | 33.3 | 29.7 | 17.0 | 20.6 |
| | 4.20 | 35.8 | 30.3 | 17.2 | 20.7 |
| | 4.30 | 37.2 | 31.1 | 17.7 | 20.7 |
| | 4.39 | 35.8 | 32.2 | 17.7 | 17.5 |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| End of eclipse, | 4.30 | 37.2 | 31.1 | 17.7 | 20.7 |
| | 4.59 | 35.8 | 32.2 | 17.7 | 17.5 |

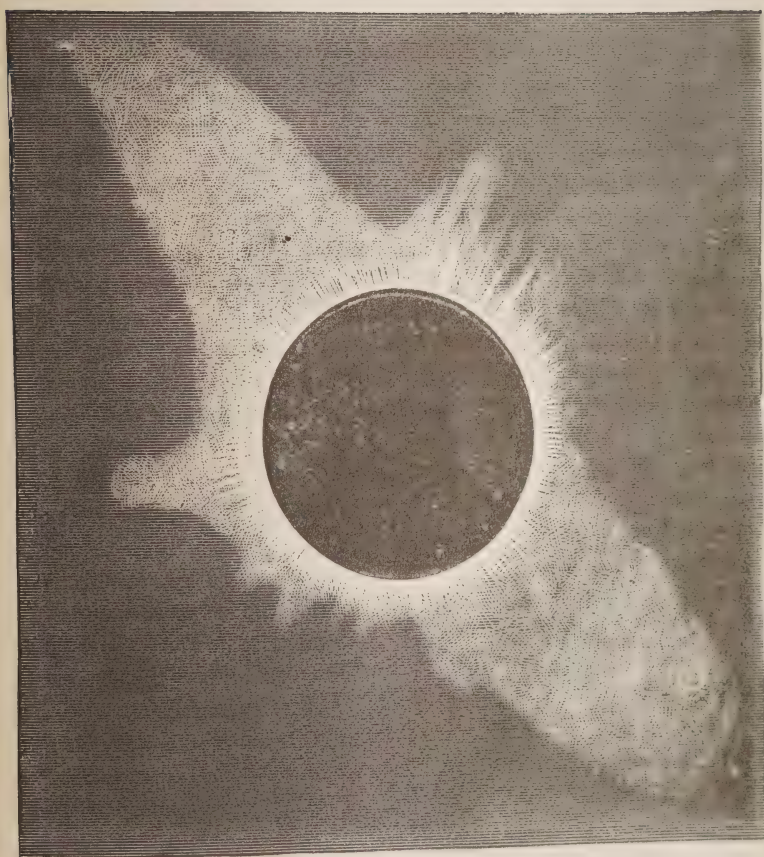
The variations of the barometer were not so remarkable. Excepting a slight deflection of the column at 2.45 no other sensible change was noted, even during totality.

The impression produced on man and beast by the sudden disappearance and reappearance of the sun, and the changes effected in the surrounding landscape by the rapid advance of the moon's shadow, defies description. It is enough to quote the words of Fr. Secchi. "The descriptions given are often exaggerated, but the very exaggeration proves the awe-inspiring tendency of the phenomena." Observers, though previously cautioned, experience so great an emotion, that, as Fr. Secchi adds, "they detach themselves with difficulty from an inactive contemplation of the grand spectacle nature then presents." "Mr. Warren de la Rue," he continues, "affirms in his report that he would travel any distance to experience unmolested the impressions which he felt, but was obliged to master, during the eclipse of 1860."

Our own emotion on the occasion of which we write, was in no wise different from De la Rue's.

But let us speak in detail of the phenomena observed. The shadow of the moon, advancing from the northeast with an enormous velocity, was preceded by alternately dark and bright streaks, termed diffraction bands. By our party they were observed very distinctly immediately before totality, but not at the end; yet others are reported to have noticed them even then. In 1842, Baily observed, at the moment of the second and third contacts, a charming phenomenon, to which the name of Baily's beads has since been given. The moon's disk in hiding the solar crescent leaves some bright points along the edge, which present the appearance of brilliant beads. This phenomenon is produced by the solar light darting through the valleys, or indentations existing on the lunar surface. Through our large telescope the appearance was truly magnificent. Even a telescope of moderate power presented a fine view of them, and many noticed them with the naked eye. With the disappearance of Baily's beads began the beautiful phase of totality, of which we give a drawing sketched by Rev. B. Ses-tini.¹ As in preceding eclipses the lunar disk was surrounded by a bright crown, or ring of silvery light, called the corona. It had apparently no determined outline, but gradually faded away on the dark background of the sky. From the corona, faint rays of irregular breadth streamed out in every direction, surrounding the moon like a glory, similar to the rays ordinarily represented around the heads of saints. The shape, dimensions and brightness of the corona are found to vary for different eclipses. The greater number of those who have observed former eclipses, affirm that the corona on this occasion was the most brilliant they had ever witnessed.

¹ In the drawing the north is represented above, as is usually done, the west being at the left.



The shape, too, and dimensions which the corona assumed, were very striking. During totality three planets, Venus, Mars, and Mercury, and four stars became visible to the naked eye. And several parties observed with powerful telescopes the star δ of Cancer through the corona. Many succeeded in obtaining fine photographs of the corona. But though photography is useful, it does not dispense with drawings, since, as Fr. Secchi remarks, there seems to be a difference between the actinic and luminous powers of the coronal light. Those in charge of the Naval Observatory, as well as the Chief Signal Officer, being aware of this fact, instructed observers to secure as many drawings of the corona as possible. The drawing of Fr. Sestini is an exact representation of the phenomenon as seen by us. We say, as seen by us, for many causes tend to vary the general aspect of the corona, as the hygrometric state of the atmosphere, the power of the telescope employed, and the eyesight of the observer. The corona, as seen at our station, bore but little resemblance to drawings executed on previous occasions. These changes, observable in different eclipses and even during various stages of the same eclipse, go far to establish the belief that the solar atmosphere is subject to violent hurricanes. Rays of light shot out almost in the direction of the ecliptic, extending on each side of the lunar disk one and a half diameters of the moon. We noticed others shorter than these, and almost perpendicular to them. The former called to mind the zodiacal light, caused, it is supposed, by the solar atmosphere.

During total eclipses flamelike protuberances of variable form are usually perceived around the moon's disk. It was for a time doubted to which orb they pertained, but closer observation has revealed the fact that they belong to the sun, and are apparently, as many believe, connected in some way with the solar spots. The absence of protuberances during the late eclipse, only two having been noted, strengthens this opinion, since the present time is an epoch of minimum solar spots; none, in fact, were visible on July 28th and 29th.

Though protuberances were wanting, the chromosphere presented a beautiful sight about five seconds prior to the end of totality, in the shape of a reddish cloud extending over 90° or 100° of the moon's edge on the northwestern border of the sun. Those familiar with the recent theories regarding the constitution of the sun, will understand how much may be deduced from such phenomena when telescopic, photographic, and especially spectroscopic apparatus are skilfully employed. But before speaking of the observations bearing on the constitution of the sun, which formed the principal of the three problems which astronomers hoped to

solve by observing the late eclipse, we shall briefly touch on the other two.

Notwithstanding the progress of astronomy and the wonderful precision of calculations hitherto made, there still exists some little doubt with regard to the position of our satellite. As an instance, we may mention the fact that English astronomers located the limits of the moon's shadow for the late eclipse four miles farther west than the American astronomers. Though this error, everything considered, is trifling, yet those who are familiar with the methods employed at sea in directing the course of vessels, will appreciate the paramount importance of attaining mathematical precision in our lunar tables. Now total solar eclipses offer the most favorable opportunity for detecting the slight existing error. For, as by knowing the moon's position we can infer that of its shadow, so, the exact location of its shadow being determined, we can find the true position of the body casting it. Hence, Prof. Harkness of the Naval Observatory, in the instructions published for the guidance of observers, urged upon all the importance of determining the exact limits of the moon's shadow and the duration of the different phases. From these elements, after a comparison of various reports, astronomers hope to be able to introduce the necessary correction in the lunar tables. Besides the longitude of various localities would be rectified to the advantage of science. The second object of science in the late eclipse was the search for intra-Mercurial planets. The illustrious French astronomer, Leverrier, whose recent death is regretted by all lovers of science, shortly after his prediction and the subsequent discovery of Neptune, announced the existence of at least one planet between the orbit of Mercury and the centre of our system. The almost prophetic ken of celestial mechanics manifested in the discovery of Neptune is an oft-told tale, yet it reflects so much honor on science that we cannot refrain from its repetition. Herschel on discovering Uranus determined its elements and calculated the table of its orbit; but after some years it was found that the planet did not occupy the position indicated in Herschel's tables. The thought came to several, to Arago among others, that beyond the orbit of Uranus there wandered still another member of the solar system, whose gravitating influence caused the unexplained perturbations of this planet. Sir John Herschel, speaking of Neptune's discovery, says: "We see it as Columbus saw America from the shores of Spain. Its movements have been felt trembling along the far-reaching line of our analysis with a certainty hardly inferior to ocular demonstration." Two astronomers, both then quite young, Adams in England, and Leverrier in France, succeeded, independently of each other, in determining the elements of the unknown planet, *i. e.*, its position,

size, and distance from the sun. Leverrier not having the requisite star maps in France, communicated the result of his calculation to Prof. Galle in Berlin, who the very evening he received the communication found the predicted planet at a distance less than a lunar diameter from the spot designated. Arago termed the discovery the greatest triumph of human intelligence. And what grander achievement can be conceived than that of a man, without scanning the heavens, directing the eye of another to an unknown planetary orb twenty-five hundred millions of miles distant. This same able calculator, whose revised and corrected tables of the planets are in general use, having noted some unexplained perturbation in Mercury's motion, announced, as we have said, the existence of at least one planet, to which he gave the name of Vulcan, between Mercury and the sun. For reasons well known to astronomers, he could not calculate its elements with the same certainty as he did those of Neptune; yet he asserted that if such a planet existed, the perihelion of Mercury would be displaced at the epoch of its transit, May 6th, 1878. This displacement actually occurred as he had indicated. Now a planet so near the sun must necessarily be very diminutive, and consequently invisible under ordinary circumstances; and a total eclipse, at least with our present means of observation, affords the only opportunity for its discovery. Many observers, we among others, searched for it, but, so far as we know, only two claim to have caught a glimpse of the planetary Vulcan: Prof. Watson,¹ of Ann Arbor, Michigan, and Prof. Loder, F.A.S., of England. The former was stationed at Separation, Wyoming; the latter at Denver. We trust that their observations and those of others, who perhaps saw it, may agree, and thus science will have achieved another glorious triumph.

The main motive that led the lovers of science thousands of miles

¹ With regard to Watson's discovery, we find in the astronomical column of "Nature," August 22d, 1878, an article from which we make the following extract.

"At the instance of M. Mouchez, the Director of the Bureau des Calculs of the Observatory at Paris, M. Gaillot, who so long assisted Leverrier in the formation of his planetary tables, has examined how far the position of the object seen by Prof. Watson will accord with the more probable of the orbits which Leverrier inferred for a hypothetical planet, from the observations of suspicious spots in transit over the sun's disk. . . . He notes that the most serious objection which opposes itself to the identification of the object observed, with a planet moving in the orbit indicated by Leverrier's formula, is that we should see a very small part of the disk illuminated; and without denying that there is reason in this objection, M. Gaillot adds that Prof. Watson describes 'as being of the fourth magnitude, a star, the diameter of which may be comparable with that of Mercury, and which, in superior conjunction, may appear of the first magnitude.' He further remarks that while it is not possible to decide with certainty upon the identity of Prof. Watson's planet with that of which Leverrier has indicated the track, he believes he has shown that there is no incompatibility between the observed and the hypothetical objects."

into the distant West was the hope of acquiring a better knowledge of the constitution and dimensions of the ruling body in the solar system. A slight digression is necessary here, for the purpose of glancing briefly at the theories thus far advanced regarding the nature of the sun. Old astronomers, to whom spectrum analysis and many notable facts gleaned from phenomena observed during recent eclipses were unknown, regarded the sun as a somewhat dark nucleus surrounded by a double atmosphere; the exterior and brighter of the two they called the photosphere. They explained the solar spots as rents existing in these atmospheres, the interior one forming the penumbra, and the nucleus the central portion of the spots. This theory, advanced by Sir W. Herschel, held the preponderance till the application of spectrum analysis led Kirchhoff to propose a different one.

Kirchhoff's theory regards the sun as composed of a central portion called the photosphere, which is in an incandescent state, and which presents a continuous spectrum, *i. e.*, one entirely destitute of lines. But whether the photosphere is a liquid, as Kirchhoff maintains, or a gaseous body, as Fr. Secchi, with others, holds, is a question whose discussion would lead us far from our subject. This photosphere is surrounded by an incandescent atmosphere whose temperature is less than that of the central portion, yet not so low as not to contain in the vaporized state most of the metals known on the earth. Furthermore, this atmosphere, in the higher regions, is composed mainly of hydrogen and of another substance unknown on earth, probably of great tenuity, which gives the line 1474 in the solar spectrum. The celebrated Fraunhofer lines, the theory maintains, are produced by the absorptive power of this envelope. But space will not permit us to exhibit the theory in full, or to point out how Kirchhoff was led to its adoption; how the identity of certain lines in the solar spectrum with those of the metals was established; how the lines of the metallic spectra can be reversed, etc. We shall content ourselves with briefly examining how the theory stands the test of direct experiment. If the theory be founded on fact, then during an eclipse, the photosphere of the sun being hidden by the lunar disk, the solar atmosphere, which by its absorption produces the Fraunhofer lines, should reverse the same, just as the vapor of sodium when examined with the spectroscope presents a bright band on the same part of the spectrum where a dark line appears when this vapor is interposed between the electric light and that instrument. Now this is exactly what does occur, as was first observed by Fr. Secchi, and better still by Prof. Young in 1870; since which date it has been confirmed by many, and was evident at Denver July 29th. Prof. Young's observations, "which," as Schellen remarks, "seem to en-

able us to fix with precision the birthplace of the Fraunhofer lines," are described by Prof. Langley as follows :

"With the slit of his spectroscope placed longitudinally at the moment of obscuration, and for one or two seconds later, the field of the instrument was filled with bright lines. As far as could be judged during the brief interval, every non-atmospheric line of the solar spectrum showed light ;" an interesting observation, confirmed by Mr. Pye, a young gentleman, whose voluntary aid proved of much service. From the concurrence of these independent observations, we seem to be justified in assuming the probable existence of an envelope surrounding the photosphere and beneath the chromosphere, usually so called, whose thickness must be limited to two or three seconds of an arc, and which gives a discontinuous spectrum consisting of all, or nearly all, the Fraunhofer lines, showing them *bright* on a dark ground.

These results go far to establish Kirchhoff's theory, the only noticeable discrepancy between his first assertion and actual experiment being this: that whereas he supposed the absorbing layer to be quite thick, the latter seems to prove that it is only one or two seconds of an arc, that is, about nine hundred miles. Some observers, it is true, saw a continuous before perceiving a reversed spectrum, and others noticed the former but did not see the latter at all. Now these observations do not militate against the theory, but can be explained, either by admitting with Fr. Secchi, that the continuous spectrum is only a partially reversed spectrum, and is sometimes perceived before the other and sometimes alone, because the power of the telescope or adverse circumstances prevent the observer from noticing the reversed spectrum; or, it can be supposed with Young, that the phenomenon of the coronal light is a mixed one, that is, that the corona not only contains light coming from a gaseous substance producing the Fraunhofer lines, but likewise light emanating from a solid or a liquid capable of giving rise to a continuous spectrum. Polariscopic observations seem to strengthen Young's explanation, since they show that there must exist in the corona a substance capable of reflecting light, from the fact that the coronal light is partially polarized. Now, could not this solid or liquid substance produce a continuous spectrum? However this may be, certainly the theory is not destroyed. Nor does it experience any difficulty in explaining the solar spots, for, to say nothing of the supposition that these spots may be clouds of vapor at a lower temperature than that of the solar atmosphere itself, the very analysis of the spectrum of the spots seems to confirm the theory, as could easily be shown did space permit.

But we must hasten to the close of this already lengthy article. A total solar eclipse furnishes a favorable opportunity for deter-

mining the sun's dimensions. When this luminary shines with all its splendor, we only see the photosphere or that defined disk visible in the field of the telescope, but when this is hidden by the moon, then the solar atmosphere constituting the chromosphere and corona becoming visible, we can determine approximately its dimensions. We say approximately, for the real dimensions cannot probably be determined with absolute certainty; for, as we previously remarked, much depends upon the circumstances in which the observer is placed. Thus, while Prof. Newcomb telegraphed from Wyoming on the 29th, "Saw rings of light, supposed to be zodiacal, extending 6° on each side of the moon, in the direction of the ecliptic," and Prof. Langley sent a dispatch to the same effect, a third skilful observer, stationed in South Colorado, asserted that their extent was but three lunar diameters as seen with his telescope, while his spectroscope revealed the lines to only 0.45 of the moon's diameter. This variation in the action of light on the telescope and spectroscope calls to mind the difference of the actinic and luminous power of the solar rays alluded to above.

Eclipses further disclose to us the shape of the corona and of the protuberances, which protuberances, extending at times as far as ten terrestrial diameters from the sun, are mainly due, as is generally admitted, to solar eruptions of hydrogen. It is true, that although the remarkable discovery of Lockyer and Janssens enables us to observe these protuberances at any time, and observations are daily made upon them, still an eclipse affords the most favorable occasion for successful observation. During an eclipse, too, the spectroscope, skilfully employed, reveals to us the nature of the substances constituting the corona and the protuberances. It has been found that the corona is partly composed of that unknown substance termed by some "helium," which gives the line 1474 in the spectrum. On the 29th the remarkable fact was noted, that whereas the corona extended irregularly around the sun, this unknown substance was diffused about the luminary with great regularity.

Many minor details, revealed by the spectroscope, the polariscope, and other instruments of observation, we must omit for brevity's sake. We will mention but one point more. Among others, Prof. Lockyer and Dr. Draper succeeded in securing fine photographs of the corona's spectrum. The latter, in an article just published in the *American Journal of Science and Arts*, arrives at a conclusion regarding the nature of the corona at variance with the opinion commonly entertained. We quote the following from the above-mentioned article: "The general conclusion that follows from these results" (viz., the observations made by his party) "is, that on this occasion we have ascertained the true nature of the

corona, viz., it shines by light reflected from the sun by a cloud of meteors surrounding that luminary, and that on former occasions it has been infiltrated with materials thrown up from the chromosphere, notably with the 1474 matter and hydrogen." Notwithstanding the above conclusion, we must patiently await the full examination and comparison of the various observations taken on the 29th before the truth can be reached on this and many other points open to discussion. Meanwhile, we confidently assert that the observations made on the late eclipse will be found to have materially augmented our knowledge regarding the central orb of the solar system.

RITUALISM

IN ITS RELATIONS TO CATHOLICITY ON ONE SIDE, AND TO PROTESTANTISM ON THE OTHER.

Protestant Ritualists. By W. Maskell, M.A. London: Toovey.

Catholicism or Ritualism? By Two Catholics. London: Longman.

The Ritual Reason Why. By Charles Walker. London: J. T. Hayes.

TO interpret the word Ritualism strictly, and according to its literal meaning, would be unfair to the numerous class of persons in England and in this country, who are commonly styled Ritualists. If their system of religion were nothing more than empty rites and ceremonies, it would be simply a frivolous mimicry of the Christian symbolic liturgy. A solemn ritual prevailed everywhere and always, not only in the Catholic Church, but also among those who were separated from it, until Protestantism invented its pretended purely spiritual worship. If the Ritualists merely adopt the form of Catholic ceremonial, discarding the truths that it symbolizes, then they are simply "playing at church." But it is fair to remember that the Ritualists, themselves, earnestly protest against this, and claim to possess the substance as well as the shadow; the reality, as well as the external form. They constantly reiterate that "there is an essential connection between dogma and ceremonial." In one of their works, full of copious details,¹ it is insisted on that "ritual divorced from truth is of all things the most melancholy; it is worse than the shadowless man of the Ger-

¹ Published by Charles Walker, in 1865.

man fictionist; it is a shadow without the substance; and an engine of Satan for the snaring of souls." Whether the pretensions of the Ritualists be conceded or not, the movement in which they are engaged, is an important one, since it is intimately connected with questions of religion and of the soul. To understand it, it is necessary to study it, first, as it exists in England, where it originated; for it has become what it is in this country, only by adopting the principles and practices which were developed by its English founders. At the close of this article the few features peculiar to this country will be sketched.

Ritualism is unquestionably an offshoot of the Oxford movement of 1833. The main prop of Oxford theology at that time was the theory that the Catholic Church consisted of three branches, the Roman, the Greek, and the Anglican. Mr. Palmer attempted to prove this theory in his *Treatise on the Church*; and his associates, we believe, generally adopted it. The theory, did not however, obtain acceptance. It not only was rejected by Catholic theologians and by Greek schismatics, who refused to recognize Anglicans as Catholics, but it was earnestly repudiated by the larger part of the Anglicans themselves, who could not be prevailed upon to call themselves Catholics, and boastfully insisted on retaining their proper name of Protestants.

The subsequent history of the Oxford movement is well known. Some of the men engaged in it, noble souls, followed the impulse of grace, and took refuge in the harbor in which alone peace and rest can be found; the greater number went back to what is called "Low Church" doctrine; but a few held on to the delusions of the *Tracts for the Times*, and continued to style themselves Catholics without submitting to the guidance and authority of the Catholic Church. These last became in time the nucleus around which the Ritualistic party was formed.

It is important to consider the new turn that was thus given to the Oxford movement, as a proper understanding of it will account for and explain the "reckless" conduct of the Ritualists. We have characterized it as "reckless." That we have used the proper adjective in so doing, will appear subsequently. To comprehend the subject thoroughly, it is necessary to refer briefly to the illusions of the originators of the Oxford movement, and the bitter disappointment they experienced.

When they began their warfare upon Protestantism, they felt sure of winning an easy victory. With the Book of Common Prayer in their hands, and with the many comments on it written by Protestant divines of the school of Laud, they thought that they could prove that the Anglican Church always had been and still was Catholic. They were fully persuaded that all the doc-

trines they held, and these comprised nearly the whole Catholic creed, were in fact the doctrines of the "Reformed Church in England;" they not only determined to insist on teaching these doctrines, whilst remaining nevertheless in the Anglican communion, but they boldly denounced all who were of a contrary opinion as deniers of the belief of the Anglican Church, and consequently heretics.

The Gorham case happened at that time, and it seemed, at first, a godsend to them. A beneficed clergyman preached openly that there was no regeneration in Baptism. How could any one do this and remain a member of the Anglican Church? How could a minister teach it to the people of his parish in the teeth of the Book of Common Prayer, and of the Anglican tradition, and yet keep his living? But the case was decided in favor of the minister, to the surprise and dismay of the new "Anglo-Catholics." The ground was thus taken from beneath their feet. They learned with astonishment that the Anglican Church was not a teaching body. Its "bishops" could not decide anything; not even about the most elementary truths of religion. The right and power to do this was left to some lay ecclesiastical court or other. Every minister might believe and preach what he pleased, provided he could entrench himself behind legal quibbles. When the Ritualist party was organized, its members had the benefit of this experience; and to the more than anomalous position thus made for them is mainly attributable the singularity and strangeness of their proceedings.

The Ritualists understand, as well as every one else, that "The Church established by law" is like a collection of beads in a kaleidoscope, presenting to the eye fairly proportionate and symmetrical forms; but when taken out of their pasteboard tube, they are found to be merely bits of colored glass and colored enamel, without any coalescence or mutual adaptation. Nevertheless, it was necessary to the Ritualists to have a church, and their church must be a branch of the Catholic Church. Mr. Palmer's theory, they thought, gave them this, though they had a somewhat more exact idea of the Anglican Church than he had. It is certainly a strange position for men of sense to occupy, that, namely, of starting from a bedlam of contrary opinions, some of them most positively anti-Christian, and arriving at the conclusion that all the elements of the Catholic Church can be found in them. For instance, in that intensely interesting little book entitled *The Comedy of Convocation*, one of the personages startles the whole body by submitting for discussion the pithy question, "Does the profession of atheism exclude a man from the communion of the Anglican Church?" It will not do to say that this is a satire, for it is after all nothing else than a terrible consequence of the Anglican theory. If a pretended

minister of the Gospel can remain a pastor of souls, whilst denying original sin ; regeneration in baptism ; the trinity of persons in the unity of nature in God ; the vicarious sacrifice of Christ for the redemption of sin ; nay, creation itself as the result of a divine *fiat* : he may as well deny the existence of God himself, who would be, by consequence, at most the idle god of Epicurus. When the Oxford movement began in England, nothing of this could have been foreseen. The bishops of the establishment were then supposed to have some kind of authority in regard to the essentials of faith, and those who, at the time, read the pamphlets on both sides, will still remember how firmly the Puseyites relied on this or that bishop, from whom they probably had received assurance of support, to a certain extent at least.

The delusion has been dispelled. The whole bench of English bishops, sitting in convocation, or if you choose in Pan-Anglican convention, at York, or Canterbury, cannot declare to the nation they are supposed to rule spiritually, what is essentially of faith for people of their communion. It must come from the unhallowed lips of lay-lawyers, sitting in a Court of Arches, or in the Privy Council. Several dogmatic decisions have already been promulgated, emanating from this high theological source, and the inference is clear that dogma has nothing to do with Anglicanism, and that every one belongs to the body, who chooses to say that he does. Evidently this was not so understood by Mr. Palmer as regards the Anglican branch of the Catholic Church in his celebrated theory. The Ritualists, however, stand by this notion ; they must find somewhere that Anglican branch of the Catholic Church, or else abandon their whole ground absolutely. Consequently, as has been already said, they became reckless, reckless of logic, of propriety, of good sense. This is a necessity of their position, for which reason we sincerely pity them.

Unable to find among themselves the most necessary elements they craved, the idea struck them that the Catholic Church once existed in England. Undoubtedly this was the case before the Reformation. This was a happy thought for them, and they thought it furnished a safer starting-point than that from which the Tractarians had set out. Those gentlemen, Mr. Palmer particularly, thought that the *reformed* religion could be made to appear Catholic, and they extracted from all *reformed* writers, old and new, whatever savored of the belief (which they held themselves) in the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist, in the efficacy of the sacraments, in the priestly power, in the teaching office in the Church, etc. They believed that logic required this of them, and they insisted on it most earnestly, and most successfully in their own opinion. The Ritualists could not flatter themselves with this

delusive hope. They went bravely to the age anterior not only to Elizabeth but to Henry VIII. himself, who held tenaciously all the ancient dogmas except the supremacy of the Pope. This was a most reckless attempt, but they had to do it in order to keep up the appearance of consistency in claiming to be a branch of the Catholic Church. They claim consequently that they are the direct and lawful successors of the great prelates who ruled the faithful in England before the time of Henry VIII. There is, it is true, another body which claims this. And in spite of legal ejection from the sees of the legitimate prelates at the time of the Reformation, it is not difficult to decide where are to be found the true successors of the ancient rulers of the Church. In the eyes of the Ritualists, however, there are no other successors than themselves; and they not only claim those ancient men as belonging to their organization, but they regard the old books that were used in those times as belonging to them exclusively. This is the case particularly with regard to the celebrated *Sarum Ritual*. Grasping with one hand at the ancient Catholic liturgical and devotional books, they also hold on to those of the earlier stages of the so-called Reformation. Thus, besides the "Sarum Missal," they attach great importance to the various prayer-books of the time of Edward VI., and also to the second book of that boy-king, "In Imitation of the Liturgy and Mass of the Church of Rome." In regard to this there is a fact, which they shrewdly keep to themselves, but which we will take the liberty of divulging. It is this: whenever a change of religion takes place, the last consequences of the initial movement are not immediately visible. Much of the previous belief is retained and is dropped gradually and in course of time. This is particularly remarkable in the English Reformation. Henry VIII. held to almost the whole Catholic creed; under Edward VI. a great part of it was abandoned; Elizabeth inaugurated an era of almost pure Calvinism, yet she kept both the Prayer-book derived almost entirely from Catholic sources, and a hierarchy which appeared to have some spiritual power. It may be asked in our day, what has been done with the doctrines of the Prayer-book? and, what shred of authority do all the bishops of England clubbed together now possess?

The Ritualists, therefore, let the reader not forget it, call themselves Catholics; they entirely abjure Protestantism, which they openly call a deadly heresy. But what will they do to bring the English nation to their own views? The Puseyites completely failed by using for this purpose translations from the Fathers, discussions of theological points, dissertations on history, etc.; the Ritualists thought they would be wiser by discarding entirely these means, and insisting on exterior rites. Thus we have the great

"Reason why" of Ritualism. Were they sagacious in taking this step? We reply, there was nothing else they could do, and their movement has already continued longer than that of Tractarianism, and has brought much more fruit, particularly by the establishment of their religious houses of men and women. It is important to consider this a moment before discussing their relations to Catholicity and to Protestantism.

They have thus far succeeded so well in their ritualistic idea, that after the humble beginning, made twelve years ago, they now flourish in all the luxuriance of the most gorgeous Catholic ceremonial; and as they insist that "the ceremonial is nothing without the dogmas," they insinuate Catholic truths much more effectually than did the Tractarians with their numerous books on theology and history, and the immense talent of the leaders of that movement. Yet, notwithstanding all this, the Ritualists are altogether illogical, occupying a false position, and we may regard it as certain that ere long all their plans will end in smoke. They were, nevertheless, most wise in their generation in adopting ritual and books of devotion as their chief instrumentalities, and setting aside the musty tomes relied upon by the former Oxfordians; for it is a very erroneous idea to imagine that Englishmen are led only by cold reason and logic, and that they are always insensible to every appeal to the imagination and emotions. If it were so, they would not have, as they do, among their literary men, so many great poets and novel-writers of the highest rank. In many things they are even more imaginative, but at the same time far less logical, than the French, who are so skilful in deducing all possible consequences from the principles they adopt, whether false or true. Englishmen prefer generally to leave in a kind of mist the axioms of religion or politics on which the whole fabric of society rests, and to correct afterward by compromise the deviations from good sense which this looseness of principle naturally produces. It is certain that many of them are vividly alive to whatever strikes the imagination and influences the emotions. Particularly is this the case when at the same time they can say that reason approves of it; for they would not for any consideration appear unreasonable, especially when the matter borders on the domain of *superstition*.

Observe, for example, how artful the Ritualists are as regards their publications. The works they publish are either intensely devotional books, or else minute and exact treatises on ceremonies and rites; and they are very careful to give the "Reason why." This is the very title of one of their last and best productions, quoted at the head of this article. This little book contains what would seem to be most opposed to the naturalism so prevalent now in England, and particularly opposed to the prejudices of the

nation with regard to childish and superstitious practices. All the minute details of "high and low Mass;" the entire list of all church officers of every degree; the colors of vestments; their head-dresses and flowing robes; their standing erect, bowing the head, bending the body, genuflexions, and prostrations; the offices of Matins and Even-song; mortuary and funeral celebrations; the consecration of churches and cemeteries; *benedictions* of persons, places, and things; in fine, nearly all the prescriptions contained, not only in Catholic rituals, but in the liturgic books which we call processionals, graduals, bishop's ceremonials, etc., are given in minute detail. And to this important remark it must be added that "The reason why" of each of them is more or less correctly assigned, extracted generally from the works of Durandus and Cardinal Bona. It cannot be denied that if, in England, there still are men even now who stand up for dogmas and a positive religion, they much prefer to see those dogmas reflected in solemn and impressive ceremonies, rather than developed in dry sermons and dull instructions.

Moreover, in addition to the interest naturally excited by the fragrance of flowers and incense, by the harmony of music and song, by the incessant moving of ministers on the steps of the altar and on the floor of the sanctuary, there is the soft and enticing language of books of devotion, among which we are not surprised to see our own Rodriguez and Da Ponte, although the Ritualistic editor did not dare to make it known that they were Jesuits. After all, the Ritualists have hit upon the right key, though going on so recklessly, striking right and left, speaking boldly and not in the low whispers of human respect; and to this they owe their momentary success. They merely employ the means that are used still more extensively by the Catholic Church. How far they are justified or not in their proceedings, will appear by and by.

In the details just given they seem to have been only wholesale plagiarists of modern Catholic lore. Both for public rites and for private devotion they mostly employ the books which Catholic priests use in our own day. It would, however, be an unfair representation of their proceedings not to allude to the other authorities on which they rely. Thus they sometimes mention the usages of Catholic England in mediæval times; they speak occasionally of the York rite, of the Sarum and Hereford Rituals, etc. It is well known that, although Rome took good care from the earliest times to look after the doings of bishops with regard to the introduction of new rites into the liturgy, the rule, however, which she followed in that regard was not formerly so strict as it has been since the Reformation. Not only the Oriental liturgies differed somewhat from the Roman, but even in the West some particular churches enjoyed peculiarities of their own which the Mother

Church did not think proper to disturb. It seems that in the Sarum diocese this went so far that the Canon of the Mass differed in some slight details from that of the Roman Liturgy. This furnished an opportunity to the directors of the new movement to show their ritualistic erudition, and appear not to follow Rome altogether. But these differences were, in fact, of so trifling a character, that the noise they at first made on the subject soon subsided, and now very little is heard about it.

Finally, to conclude this branch of the subject, it is proper to remark that some Protestant divines, flourishing at the time of the Reformation, or soon after, also furnished to the Ritualists their quota of authority with regard to rites. But this has been on a small scale, and is of very little importance compared with the use which the Puseyites made of them in regard to dogma and exegesis.

Before entering on the discussion which is now in order, namely, the relations of Ritualism to Catholicity and to Protestantism, it is fair and in place to ask whether those gentlemen could, with propriety and justice, do what they have done so recklessly, and which they continue doing in the face of God and men; whether, for instance, they could of their own authority, and consistently with their own principles, establish religious orders of men and women, and assume to themselves the heavy task of resuscitating in their own persons a Catholic Church which (as an Anglican branch) has been dead for three centuries? This is a very important consideration.

First, as to religious orders. The houses they have already founded form undoubtedly the finest blossoms of their crown. The inmates are devoted, "set apart," to works of mercy and religion. They embrace a life of celibacy, abstemiousness, and prayer. It is chiefly for their use that the *Canonical Hours*, copied entirely from the *Roman Breviary* and the various monastic liturgical books, have been translated and printed under the care of the leaders of Ritualism. There can be no doubt that those persons who separate themselves from the world, live in obscurity, humility, and good works, are animated by pure motives and the best intentions, even though they labor, as we believe they do, under a delusion, and are not in reality God's proper agents for accomplishing what they attempt to do. But it is certain that, in this attempt at imitating the noblest efforts of the Catholic Church for the spiritual and temporal welfare of men, the Ritualists have undertaken more than they can do, and they would themselves feel it if they would but reflect seriously on the bold position they assume.

As if there was a lurking thought in their minds that this is the case, they keep to themselves almost entirely the details of the management of their houses. It is true that in the Catholic Church

the members of those holy communities do not boast of their interior life, and that they keep it as secret as they can; but every well-instructed Catholic is fully aware not only of the object of each particular house, but even of the most important details of the religious life, and the doors of the "convents" are never closed against any respectable inquirer, though they may be absolutely barred against the intrusion of "smelling committees." There is, in fact, no intention whatever on the part of Catholic Religious to make a secret of anything connected with their holy seclusion, and the books containing their most secret rules, although they are not found generally for sale in booksellers' shops, are, after all, easily accessible by every one who takes an interest in those things. Among the Ritualists there seems to be much more secrecy. They are very sparing of allowing even the most indifferent details to be known when there is question of their "Religious houses." They merely allude to them in general terms, and the reader is always at a loss to know anything whatever about their interior life.

To give a more precise idea of this extreme reticence and secrecy, we will mention the only details that we could gather from one of their most outspoken books, *The Ritual Reason Why*. Among the "benedictions of persons" it is stated that "those not admitted to holy orders are set apart by a form of benediction. Of this kind are the forms of admission or benediction of choristers, acolytes, readers; the form of admission into a Religious Order; the institution of a Religious superior, and the like" (pp. 57, 58). We suspect here that the writer thought himself very wise in tacking to the end of a phrase, after choristers, acolytes and readers, the admission into a Religious Order, and the institution of a Religious superior. He thought they would escape sight altogether under such skilfully produced obscurity. In speaking of the *Canonical Hours*, the compiler of the book says that "they are still observed in Sisterhoods and other Religious houses." But he is very careful not to mention that their recitation is one of the chief Religious exercises performed in them, and in fact is entirely confined to their precincts. This is carrying secrecy too far. He seems, it is true, to speak out plainly on this subject, when he details "the several forms of hour services" (page 223); but he there mixes up the well-known rules of the Benedictine Order in the Catholic Church with what he calls in a note "the use of Salisbury," generally followed, as he says, in the *English Religious Houses*, meaning those of the Ritualists. Here there evidently is some confusion, and it seems to have been intentional.

In the part of the book devoted to the "burial service," the compiler says that "Clergy and Sisters are buried in the habits of their Orders, because, having entered the ecclesiastical or Religious

state, they will be judged at the last day as ecclesiastics or Religious. It is not unusual for Sisters and Virgins espoused to Christ to be buried in white palls, trimmed with black and violet, etc."

This is literally all that can be found in the book on "Religious Orders." But neither this title, nor any other connected with the subject, are to be seen in the index, although it is very copious in every other respect, and contains no less than twenty-six pages. When men are so excessively reticent, it is difficult to be very precise with them. Yet the boldness of the Ritualists in opening retreats secluded from the world, where men and women embrace the Religious state, and consequently pronounce Religious vows, deserve at least a few words of serious admonition and warning.

Whatever may have been the origin of monasticism in the Church, no student of ecclesiastical history can deny that very early, if not from the very beginning, no Religious Order could be founded, and no Religious house could be opened, without the intervention of the hierarchy. No doubt a number of persons can join together, adopt rules of their own, and live quietly and holily, but they can never be regarded as forming a Religious body unless the rulers of the Church intervene, examine everything connected with the new enterprise, and approve the designed object and the means proposed to attain it. A single hermit, even, living on the slopes of the Apennines, or on the crags of the Pyrenees, must first obtain permission from his ecclesiastical superiors in the ranks of the hierarchy to lead his secluded and extraordinary life. An ordinary priest, as a director, could not undertake to grant permission or to direct him spiritually. This may have been at first only a custom, but it is now a law; and the Ritualists who avowedly profess to follow implicitly all the positive details of rule in everything connected with Church organization and discipline, are bound to submit to this law, according to their own principles.

The reason of this law is the evident danger that would arise of leading souls astray, and of originating heresies, schisms, and every kind of disorder in the Church, if large bodies of people could be gathered together and subjected to rules over which the Church would not have full supervision and control. Have those gentlemen seriously reflected on the possible consequences of their ascetic undertaking? If they are to be forever limited in their expansion to their present small number, and can always count on their fingers their Religious houses of men and women, perhaps no great harm to their ecclesiastical organization might ensue, and they might not find it impossible to restrain within the limits of propriety and good sense the docile souls of those that enter their Sisterhoods, and the apostolic zeal of their "Evangelist Fathers."

This last body confines itself, it seems, to "Parochial Missions," to the teaching of "Catechism," and to "Evangelist Tracts;" all coming from Cowley in England. In these praiseworthy occupations these well-meaning men and women may continue to labor assiduously and harmoniously. But the Ritualists do not purpose to remain as few as they are. They propose to themselves to convert to their views the whole of England, and perhaps of this country also. Imagine what would be the case if they multiplied a thousandfold. Remember what has often happened in Religious houses, even when they were subjected to the strong arm of the Catholic hierarchy, and let this salutary lesson inspire fear in the hearts of the bold supporters of Ritualism.

For those gentlemen cannot conceal even from themselves the fact, that their plan of "Religious Orders" has no other visible support for harmonious action than the exertions of simple priests, even admitting that they *are* priests, as they suppose they are. None of them can claim the superior position necessary to put down disorder by *authority*, should disorder arise.

They say that they are a branch of the Catholic Church. But can they tell us what branch of the *Catholic* hierarchy they can look to for support in case of danger? They refuse to submit to Rome; and although they roundly abuse in their books the various English Protestant "bishops" who are supposed to rule them, still if there is, as they think, an Anglican Catholic hierarchy, that body is the first to repudiate them, to laugh at their "Sisters" and "Fathers," and would willingly anathematize them all if it knew and believed that it *could* strike with anathema any rebellious members of its "church." The whole thing rests, therefore, on the individual exertions of the Ritualists and they have no warrant whatever for what they are doing.

This is all that can be said in this paper on this branch of the subject. Another act of boldness and recklessness on the part of the Ritualists, more surprising still, because more general and unwarrantable, if possible, now requires a moment's attention.

They pretend that, in all their proceedings, they stand on principle, and that their position is sound and logical, because they themselves assent to the Catholic creed. They think they can prove that the Anglican branch of the Church does likewise, and consequently also is Catholic. This was the position of the Puseyites of Oxford, and though the Ritualists have witnessed the disappointment of these forerunners of their own body, they endeavor to bolster up anew the ruined theory of Mr. Palmer. To effect this, as has been shown, they assume both that they are the lawful successors of the Catholic prelates before the Reformation, and also that many Reformers have upheld Catholic doctrines, and

secured to Anglicanism the right to claim Catholicity. Both pretensions will be briefly discussed, and we shall begin with the last, which can be disposed of in a moment. The task is easy, inasmuch as it has been done already, and better than we could succeed in doing, in the *Dublin Review* for April, 1869.

“The heart and soul and voice of the Church (the Anglican) are not only not with them (the Ritualists), but dead against them. Of the whole of their episcopate, is there even one whom they can call their own? Of the twenty thousand ministers, of the ten millions of lay members of the Church, how small a fraction are really and truly theirs! They hold, for example, seven sacraments, the Real Eucharistic Presence and Sacrifice, the divine institution of Confession. How many are there of the aforesaid bishops, clergy, and laity, who hold these doctrines, who do not hold that these doctrines are false, superstitious and anti-Christian? Tell us not of scraps and cuttings from old paper-creeds and rubrics, drawn up by certain assemblies three hundred years ago. Whatever they meant then, or may be made to mean now, is altogether irrelevant to the point at issue. We believe that the Ritualists put quite a forced and false meaning on the passages quoted by them to show what was the faith of their Church two or three centuries ago. But we will, for the present, waive this point, and for short argument's sake, grant them all they ask on it. If holding, for example, the Real Presence, they maintain that they are true and sound members of the Anglican Church existing now, because certain parties in that church as existing three hundred years ago held that doctrine, or wrote, or ruled as if they held it then, with still greater right and more irresistible logic, could they, holding the Pope's supremacy, exactly and fully as we Catholics hold it, maintain that they are members of that now existing Church, because not only the whole Anglican, but the whole Western Church held this doctrine three hundred and fifty years ago? As all the world knows, churches that were once Catholic became in a generation or two Arian, or Nestorian, or Monophysite. The Catholic Church lives forever, always the same; but particular churches may change, may die out, or rot even in infidelity. The question is of a Church now living. I am not a member of any such church, because I hold doctrines held by it some centuries ago, if it be clear as the sun at noonday that the now-existing Church no longer holds these doctrines. It is not a question of subtle investigation or antiquarian research; it is a question of existing *fact*, plain, palpable, and notorious. Does the Established Church of the present generation hold, or has that Church for many generations past held, the distinctive body of doctrines which the Ritualists profess? What she distinctly and definitely holds on many important points is doubtful enough, but that she does *not* hold this system is a fact as certain as human testimony can well make it.”

This argument is unanswerable, and the evident consequence is that Ritualists cannot claim, on any grounds, that the now-existing Anglican Church is a branch of the Catholic Church, whatever may have been the case two or three hundred years ago. There remains to discuss the other part of the question, namely, Can the Ritualists lawfully claim to be the true successors of the rulers of the Church in England before the Reformation? This claim is still more unwarrantable than their other pretension just noticed, because they themselves are not rulers in any church, and at best they can *pretend* to be only the pastors of those souls who confide themselves to their individual care. They may mean, nevertheless, that the actual rulers of the Anglican Church, namely, the bishops

of the Establishment, are the lawful successors of the Catholic prelates who lived anterior to the change effected by Henry VIII. and Elizabeth. It is known that many Anglican "divines" have advanced this pretension, and have even called the present incumbents of Catholic Sees in Great Britain, schismatics and intruders. It is important, therefore, to show how preposterous such a pretension is in the eye simply of good sense. A few remarks will furnish most irrefragable proof of it. The whole may be reduced to a single observation, which no man of intelligence can gainsay. It is this :

By the Protestant Establishment the previous Catholic organization in England was totally destroyed, root and branch. What followed was an absolutely different church, having nothing in common with the first. At least at the end of the reign of Elizabeth, the nation as well as the government had entirely repudiated Catholicity, which had no more existence for them than if it had never been planted in the country. The few remaining Catholic bishops and priests were simply outlaws, and could neither prevent nor arrest the complete severance of the English nation from whatever might give it the remnant of a claim to the name of Catholic. This should be examined at somewhat greater length.

The Catholic Church has always been a well-known entity. The supremacy of the Pope has ever been the keystone of the edifice ; and to deny it was sufficient to cause those who denied it to be thrown out of the body. But those Eastern nations which anterior to the Reformation rejected the supremacy of the Pope, at least kept intact, or nearly so, the remainder of the structure. Their hierarchy preserved the validity of its orders ; they kept sacredly the entire sacramental system ; they continued to admit not only as the basis of all morality the strict prescriptions of the Ten Commandments, but likewise, that those who, aiming at perfection, devoted themselves to the practice of the evangelical counsels, must submit unreservedly to the decisions of all the Ecumenical Councils which preceded their separation from Rome ; they remained united with the Church to a great degree in the sacred bonds of a universal tradition ; finally, they never repudiated altogether the hope of a reunion with Rome, from which large and influential bodies among them have never been disconnected. If all this had been the case in the Anglican communion, there might be some reason on their part for claiming to be a branch of the Catholic Church. Strict theologians would see, in this alone, not to refer to other considerations, an important difference between them and the Gallicans, before Gallicanism was formally condemned.

But, unfortunately, Anglicanism at a very early period took a

much wider departure from Catholicity as it existed before Luther and Calvin. Not only has it contemptuously rejected from the very start any possible connection with Rome, but in the very act of taking a new position in the religious world, it has so managed it that the validity of its orders has been ever since denied by both the Roman and the Greek churches; and the Anglican divines who have labored most strenuously to vindicate their ordinations, have not succeeded in convincing most Englishmen even of the validity of their claim. From the very beginning of Elizabeth's reign they rejected all the sacraments but two; and though these two, namely, Baptism and the Eucharist, appeared in the Prayer-book to look like real sacraments, the XXXIX Articles came in at the same time to dispel the delusion, and to lead many ministers of the Church of England to deny both regeneration in Baptism, and the presence of Christ in the celebration of the Last Supper. It is well known also, what torrents of abuse have been poured forth by the pens of Anglican divines against monasticism, that is, against the practice of the evangelical counsels; and if the Ten Commandments—wonderful indeed—have not been ridiculed as were monastic vows, we are compelled to say with heartfelt sadness, that by rejecting *in toto* the sacrament of penance and the practice of confession, they have taken from the conscience of Englishmen the burdensome necessity of examining the state of their souls at least at some regular appointed times, and allowed the majority of them to omit doing it during their whole lives. The question can fairly be put to them, What is the practical use of the Ten Commandments under such circumstances?

Lastly, we can ask them, likewise, what Councils of the Church do they admit as authoritative? and since the necessary answer must be the short word *none*, have they not broken loose from all tradition; from whatever can constitute a Church that can be called, if not Catholic, at least Christian?

These are simply the suggestions of good sense; and the conclusion is irresistible. Anglicanism has preserved nothing of the former organization of the Church in England, and to imagine that its present bishops are the successors of the former prelates is a flimsy pretension, the proper answer to which is simply denial. There are true successors to those prelates in England, but they are found only in the Catholic hierarchy, whose most prominent member now is Cardinal Manning. To dwell on this, however, does not enter into the scope of this paper, and it remains only to conclude briefly what naturally follows from the previous remarks.

There is not, certainly, in the whole range of ecclesiastical history, another example of such a thorough denial and repudiation of all former Catholic principles, with regard to the doctrine of the

Church, as was witnessed in the establishment of what has been called the Reformation in England. And this denial and repudiation has been going on and constantly becoming bolder during the last three hundred years. Still, the Ritualists pretend that the new organization, substituted for the old one, and altogether antagonistic to it, has nevertheless remained all the while a branch of the first, and that they continued to be through this new organization, members of the Catholic Church. There is no question here, bear it in mind, of creed, articles, formularies of belief, practices of piety, and rites. The main thing to be examined, is the organization itself of both the bodies, old and new. All members of this last one, lay or clerical, who are not Ritualists, smile at the conceit that their system as an organism has anything in common with the old one. They will not admit a Catholic priest to any of their pulpits, unless he promises to speak as they do, that is, unless he renounces his religion, and professes Anglicanism. It is well known, that a Catholic pastor of souls who would allow a Ritualist "priest" to say *Mass* in his church, would fall directly under censure, and most surely be suspended from all priestly functions. These matters of fact, form the real test of union or disunion between religious bodies. Every one is aware that a United Greek is regarded in a Latin church as a member of the flock, and treated as such. Not so a Puseyite or Ritualist in a religious edifice dependent, for instance, on Cardinal Manning, or on any Catholic bishop in England. And it is just after three centuries of such a total separation, that the upholders of Ritualism assume the privilege of claiming as their own, the former rulers of the Catholic Church in England. As well might the Reverend D., the worthy pastor of the *Catholic and Apostolic Church*, in Sixteenth Street, New York, pretend to be the first lineal descendant of St. Peter himself, the undoubted founder of the true Catholic and Apostolic Church. Thus the doings of these Ritualistic gentlemen partake of the ludicrous, and it is not our fault that the charge is made, that they are in fact "playing at church."

It is time now to consider their relations to Catholicity and Protestantism in a more direct way.

With regard to their relation to Catholicity, if you listen to their assertions, you might imagine that they are more Catholic than the strictest members or even rulers of our Holy Church. But those professions after all do not amount to much, since they all refuse, more obstinately even than the Puseyites did, to take the only step which would make them Catholics, viz., going back to the only legitimate organization.

In their *Tracts for the Times*, or *Essays on Theological Subjects*, they invariably assume that they *are* Catholics; they speak contemptuously of Protestantism in every possible sense; yet, it is pre-

cisely in those volumes that they show their total ignorance of Catholicity. For them, Catholicity is only an assemblage of dogmas and rites; they seem unable to understand that the Church is essentially a living organism. They seem never to reflect that when Christ established his Church, he appointed twelve men, who were to form a visible society, and that they were placed visibly at its head, by the privilege of teaching and administering the Sacraments; that he formed of them a moral body closely knit together in Him, to pray that they should remain *one*, to give them all the power He Himself had received from His Father, which power they were to communicate to their successors in office.

The upholders of Ritualism seem to have no idea of this, and they appear to imagine that the degree of the Catholicity of a man answers exactly to the extent of his knowledge in divinity and ritual. In that sense they are certainly great Catholics; and as it would be wrong to despise theology and the exterior beauty of the house of God, it is but fair to them, and just, to give them credit for this. Then, too, they trample human respect under their feet when they profess openly the need of a positive creed, and show a high appreciation of the exterior beauty of religion, in the midst of a generation of men who make a boast of scoffing at both; and they deserve praise for this.

To be convinced of this, one has only to read the testimony given before the Ritual Commissioners appointed by Parliament in 1867. We quote from the *Dublin Review*, of April, 1868:

"Mr. Bennett, of Frome, when asked by the (Protestant) Archbishop of Armagh, 'Do you consider yourself a sacrificing priest?' replied, 'Yes.' 'In fact,' rejoined the Archbishop (who apparently doubted the testimony of his own ears), '*Sacerdos*, a sacrificing priest?' 'Distinctly so,' said Mr. Bennett. The Archbishop: 'What authority have you in the Prayer-book for that?' 'That would involve a long answer. It has been so interpreted by our divines, the divines of our church from the time of the Reformation downwards.' The Archbishop: 'Then you think you offer a propitiatory sacrifice?' 'Yes, I think I offer a propitiatory sacrifice.'"

When this profession of belief, not only in the Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist as a Sacrament but in the pre-eminent Catholic doctrine of the sacrificial character of the liturgy, was made by Mr. Bennett, that gentleman had not to fear the barbarous treatment which would have been meted out to a Catholic priest for such a profession two centuries previous, but he was sure of the reprobation of all England, excepting the Ritualists and Catholics. He knew that his answers would be reproduced in the leading newspapers and periodicals of the country, and that their perusal at the breakfast-table, the following morning, would cause a torrent of ridicule to be poured on his devoted head. Was not the very language of the Archbishop of Armagh proof of it? "Then you think you offer a propitiatory sacrifice?" "Then you are a

Sacerdos, a sacrificing priest?" "Distinctly so," replied Mr. Bennett. There was certainly a great deal of the constancy of a martyr in these repeated replies. Let us go on in our quotations.

"The Bishop of Gloucester then tried his hand. He read an extract from an essay published by Mr. Bennett. 'I will ask you only to say whether such is now your opinion, or whether you in any degree modify it. This is what you say: "The ancient vestments present to crowds of worshippers the fact, that here before God's altar is something far higher, far more awful, more mysterious than aught that man can speak of, namely, the Presence of the Son of God in human flesh subsisting." Would you wish to retain that?' 'Decidedly,' said Mr. Bennett."

There is no need of quoting his answers to the Dean of Ely, who wished to know "if the elevation of the elements takes place for the purpose of adoration? if the phrase, 'the adoration of the elements' is the proper orthodox phrase?"

Thus, the bishops and dignitaries of the Establishment came one after another to make him commit himself more and more thoroughly to the profession of the very doctrines which Anglicanism has expressly repudiated; and without flinching, the undaunted Ritualist made, in intention at least, a bold avowal of Catholicity, knowing all the while that he was the object of sneers and scorn. For this he is worthy of all respect.

A very important consideration in the same line of thought, is the total rejection by the Ritualists of Protestantism in every shape and form, particularly as a set of doctrines dependent on the State.

They go in this direction much farther than the Puseyites ever did. The remark has already been made, that these last gentlemen thought they had found Catholic doctrine in the *reformed* church, whilst the directors of the new movement refuse to accept anything from the Reformation as such. They prefer to go directly to the Church as it existed in England before Henry VIII.; and if they occasionally employ texts taken from the writings of the Reformers, it is simply because they think that those texts are thoroughly Catholic, not because they come from Reformers. Thus they make very little, comparatively, of the Anglican Prayer-book, which was so much relied upon by the Tractarians, because it has since been ascertained that the few Catholic scraps it contains are almost always nullified by Calvinistic expressions. The Prayer-book, besides, has been imposed by the State, and the Ritualists strongly insist on repudiating the authority of the State in Church matters. Here, again, they give some proof of a genuine Catholic spirit, and if they followed it logically and in simplicity of purpose, they would soon give up the whole Establishment. For in Anglicanism the Episcopate itself, from which they derive their Orders, supposing they have any, has no other root or basis than the State; so that everything depends on it: hierarchy, dogmas, sacraments, and

rites. And this is perhaps more thoroughly the case at the present moment than ever before. The convocation of "bishops" is now a mere sham, and a Pan-Anglican synod is not much better than a solemn farce. The Ritualists do not seem to be aware of it; and they speak as if there was still a strong inward vitality in the ecclesiastical organization of England, whilst everybody else knows that there is absolutely none. To be blind is a necessity of their system; and as a consequence of that blindness, they flatter themselves that everything is as they imagine it to be, and they imagine it as Catholic as possible.

They are, therefore, totally opposed to what has been called Erastianism, and they fight valiantly against State interference in Church matters. It is most remarkable that this does not open their eyes to the true constitution of the Church. The only explanation that can be given of this obliquity of vision on their part, is the close attention they bestow upon dogmas, rites, and ceremonies. It makes them forget that, besides these holy things, priceless beyond all doubt, and which we are glad to see them estimate so highly, there is the organism itself on which all those important interests depend, but to this, we are sorry to say, they pay very little attention. In our opinion, they are more truly on the road toward genuine Catholicity, in warring against State control, than in going through the ceremonial of the Mass with a mediæval chasuble, or giving the Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament in the most elaborately embroidered cope.

It is time, however, to ask ourselves, why it is that with such a seeming ardor for Catholicity they often revile the Catholic Church, or the Roman branch of it, to use their own language? For it is undoubtedly true, and it is a great pity, that they frequently speak most disrespectfully of the Church of Rome. We will not repeat all the harsh expressions that they employ against her in their books, and we beg to assure them, that if we abstain from doing so, it is more for their sake than for our own; for it does not redound to their honor, and we would not on any account present them in an odious light. But can they be sincere when they pretend that the doctrines which they advocate, and which are in many points thoroughly Catholic, are nevertheless different from and more orthodox than those of the Church of Rome? They profess openly to believe in the Real Presence, the sacrifice of the Mass, confession and absolution, the Religious life and vows, the invocation of the saints, even the existence of purgatory, which is necessarily connected with the Masses they say for the dead; yet they constantly insinuate that their doctrine, under these various heads, is somewhat different from, and more orthodox, than the Roman doctrine. To be able to do this, they certainly are compelled to

equivocate. They seem, for instance, to reject transubstantiation by never using the *word* in their formularies, and by appearing to find fault with it. Yet they admit a *substantial change* in the elements at the time of consecration in the Mass. Is not their expression equivalent to ours? The only difference that can be perceived between them and Catholic priests in hearing confessions and giving absolution consists in their absolute want of power, since, independently of the invalidity of Orders in the Anglican Church, no one of their bishops, most certainly in this age, intends to confer Orders in the Catholic sense, to give, for instance, power to any minister they ordain, of absolving sinners in the sense in which the term is understood by the Church. Such an intention it is impossible that their bishops can have even impliedly, since they are all positively of opinion that the matters referred to are, one and all, only sacrilegious pretensions. Still it is known that the Ritualists keep within their organization many people strongly inclined to go "Romeward," by giving them the assurance that confession with them is a more blessed institution than anywhere else, though in fact, as practiced by them, it is merely a sham.

Again, the invocation of the saints and the existence of purgatory they copy from the Catholic doctrine; yet they often speak as if abuses were less liable to occur among them on those points than in any other religious body, etc., etc. They cannot be sincere in all this, and in employing such language they prove that they have no firm conviction of its truth. There is only one reason that can be assigned, and it is a very poor one. It is, the effect of the fear they have of showing too plainly a leaning toward Rome. It is strange, but it is so. The more ardently they profess to be Catholic in all things, the more they appear afraid that others will suspect them of being so in reality.

The consequence of this is, that whenever one of them feels obliged in conscience to place himself on firmer ground than that afforded by their own system, they speak and write of him disparagingly; they attribute to him unworthy motives, and consider his union with Rome almost as a surrendering of his Catholicity. He does not belong any more to the noble Anglican, but only to the Roman branch of the Church! To illustrate better our meaning, let us suppose that the Pope and the Catholic bishops should admit their claims, consider their *priests* as invested really with sacerdotal functions, and permit them to act in Catholic solemnities together with true priests; there is very little doubt that they would be flattered by such a condescension as this, and glory more than ever in their Catholicity. But there is also very little doubt that this would not alter in the least their foolish pretensions. Many of them probably would flock to the continent, and take

part in the most imposing ceremonies of our holy religion. In England, however, they would most probably prefer their own conventicles; nay, they would continue to go for ordination to Anglican bishops, with whom they have nothing in common, except that both are Anglicans.

This suffices to give a pretty clear idea of their relations to Catholicity. They are laboring under a fatal delusion which blinds them to the real position they occupy in the religious world. As long as they remain what they are, they have no right to the name of Catholics. Their apparently firm belief in Catholic truth, is not sufficient to legitimize their assumptions. They are not priests, and cannot offer the sacrifice of the altar. Neither can they absolve sinners, and assume the responsibility of directing souls. Their Religious Congregations of men and women can never have the approval of the Church, which has no control over them, and has not given them any warranty or permission for following their ascetic rules. These are not mere assertions. It all follows from the very constitution of the Church, which every consistent Christian is bound to admit.

The consequences of all this are of the most serious nature. A few only can be hinted at here. It is not Christ they adore in the Eucharist, but the simple elements of bread and wine. It is not the sacrifice of the Cross which is reproduced on their altars, but a sham representation of it. When sinners rise from the feet of those among them who hear confessions, they have not really been absolved from their sins, but remain burdened with the load of guilt they had the simplicity to confess. The "Sisters" in their "convents" are but "foolish virgins," whose lamps contain no oil, and who consequently cannot be admitted to the marriage feast of the true spouse.

It remains to examine the relation of the Ritualists to Protestantism, which they seem to renounce absolutely in their outward professions.

The following quotation, taken, we believe, from the *Church Times*, an organ of the Ritualists, in 1868, and found in the *Dublin Review*, of the same year, will furnish the reader with an additional proof that this new party in the Anglican Church thinks itself emphatically anti-Protestant.

"When the Bishop of Ely speaks of certain doctrines (Ritualistic of course, being untenable in the Church of England, all he means is, that they are not in Browne, on the Thirty-nine Articles,' a proposition which no theologian of any learning would regard as identical. More startling is the language of the Bishop of London. Speaking of certain usages (Ritualistic), which he disapproves, and which have been maintained, in one form or another, by the Eastern and Western churches, for fifteen hundred years, he declares 'that the bishops would be traitors to the church, if they allowed the foundations of the faith to be sapped in such a way.' The foundations of the faith are the

Creeds, the Sacraments, and the Inspiration of the Holy Scripture. What then is that bishop to be called, who strives with all his might to protect one who has denied two main articles of the Creed, who jeers at the very idea of inspiration, who has taken care to explain that the Sacraments are bare signs? . . . If the Bishop of London had a spark of loyalty or humility, he would have said, in speaking of some late secessions (to Rome), 'It was my fault. My Erastianism, my collusion with *heresy*, my weak subservience to a clique of plausible unbelievers, have made some earnest though erring clergymen despair of a church which possesses such a prelate.' The question is not in the least whether the seceders are right in their opinion, but whether their opinion be as we have expressed it."

Thus in the minds of the Ritualists, all the evil existing in Anglicanism, all the danger of losing many thoughtful members of their communion, came from the ultra Protestant notions prevailing in the hierarchy itself, notions going so far as to border occasionally on infidelity itself. They were therefore ardent in opposing Protestantism, or *heresy*, as they correctly name it whatever shape it takes in the Establishment. This is the first and general consideration presented at once, by the attitude of the new party. Unfortunately that attitude partakes more of appearance than of reality, as it will be our duty to show presently.

But since we speak of their relations to each other, before that point is openly reached, it is well to see how Protestantism paid back Ritualism, opposed it tooth and nail, and endeavored to crush it in its very cradle. The Ritualist party had scarcely given evidence of its existence, when Parliament, on which all important ecclesiastical affairs depend in England, thought the matter serious enough to discuss it and put an end to it. This was, we believe, in 1867. Under the impossibility of giving even briefly a sketch of all the proceedings of the English legislature on this occasion, it is sufficient to mention that the Commission appointed by Parliament, "to inquire into the Rubrics, Orders, and Directions for Regulating the Course and Conduct of Public Worship, etc.," soon met and set about investigating the whole matter of Ritualism. That "Commission" was composed of statesmen, lawyers, and politicians, as well as prelates and clergy, and called to its bar witnesses of every description, among whom the most prominent Ritualists predominated in number and importance. A word has already been said about some questions which were addressed to Rev. Mr. Bennett, of Frome, by the Protestant Archbishop of Armagh, the Bishop of Gloucester, and the Dean of Ely.

The case, it is known, was carried to the Privy Council, and a judgment was pronounced by that body, which many thought would render Ritualism impossible in the Church of England. But this was so far from being true, that the very year after (1868), Mr. Mackonochie, another Ritualist clergyman, was also called before the Court of Arches, on account of the "rites and ceremo-

nies" which he continued to practice in divine worship, in spite of the previous judgment. The Dean of the Arches, Sir R. Phillimore, decided that "the mixture of water with the wine, and the use of incense in the Protestant communion service, and the elevation of the bread and wine after the supposed consecration, were forbidden by the existing laws of the Church of England." It was evident that Protestantism had made up its mind to pursue the Ritualists and hound them out of their field of predilection. But they were not to be put down; they were not even dismayed by mere decisions of courts of law. As O'Connell had once declared that he could drive a carriage and four through any act of Parliament, they set their ingenuity to work to perform the same feat with regard to judicial decisions. On appeal, the Privy Council having declared itself against the use of candles, except when they were necessary for light, an ingenious upholder of "ritual" suggested that the chancel windows should be covered with outside shutters during the communion service, in which case the candles might be legally lighted. But Mr. Mackonochie invented a more ingenious arrangement. He merely hung up seven huge lamps, which were to burn before the communion table, day and night.

It would require too much space to give all the details of the open war which then commenced between Ritualism and pure Anglicanism, or to use the language of the new party, between Catholicism and Protestantism. And a mere mention must be made of another phase of the conflict which soon followed, a prominent feature of which was a street mob, breaking into Ritualist churches during service, and on some occasions, not only hooting the clergyman, but destroying the furniture and ornaments of the edifice. It was manifest that Ritualism had nothing in common with Anglican Protestantism. The hierarchy of the Protestant Establishment was dead against the new system; its Protestant State masters used old legal weapons against it, and were prepared to forge new ones if needed; Protestant legists and canonists were brimful of legal arguments to have it condemned; and finally a Protestant mob came into the field of action with its brutal assaults. On their own side the Ritualists did not "mince matters." They were as fiercely outspoken against Protestantism as the Catholic controversialists of the sixteenth century had ever been. It was the first time that Anglican clergymen denounced Protestantism in any shape. The Puseyites and Tractarians of former years, who called themselves Catholics, respected to some great extent the Reformation, and never threw obloquy and reproach on Protestants as such. This circumstance gives to the new contest in England an interest of its own, and directs general

attention to the question, how all this will terminate, and whether Protestantism is not really on the wane in the British Isles. It is well known that from the end of the reign of Elizabeth, the name of Protestant became in England a sacred word. The nation boasted of its Protestantism, which in its eyes had brought it every blessing. Any one who dared to speak against it, was for a long time in danger of his life. At all times it was an honor to be called a Protestant.

The Ritualists are effecting in this regard a sort of revolution in Great Britain. A large number of Englishmen are beginning to learn from them that Protestantism is a "heresy," "a curse," a "devilish delusion." As the new party increases in numbers, in influence, in respectability, hundreds of thousands, nay, millions of people cease to worship the idol they have so long adored, and now no one is shocked, whilst many are delighted, to hear Protestantism abused in every possible shape. The Catholic Church undoubtedly will profit by this altered state of circumstances, and Ritualism will have done some good in England.

Catholic writers, nevertheless, declare that the Ritualists are Protestants, notwithstanding their loud protestations. Nay, it is positively affirmed by grave authors that they are ultra Protestants; and there may be a great deal of truth in the assertion. How is this?

It has been proved that Catholicism does not consist precisely in accepting all the dogmas of the Church, all her sacraments, moral precepts, etc.; but that besides all these prerequisites, it is necessary that every one should belong to her organism, submit to her authority, and recognize the power of Christ in her pastors, particularly in her Visible Head, who has received the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and the promise that his faith shall never fail. But the Ritualists do not acknowledge these truths; nay, do not acknowledge on earth any spiritual authority above themselves. Catholicity is essentially a religion of authority and subordination; and if outside the exterior pale of the Church, there are any souls belonging to her—and we individually believe that there are many, besides baptized infants—it is only among those, who being really humble and submissive to God, are ready to acknowledge the order established by His Son. The remission of sins and the admission among God's children cannot be granted to the proud, who refuse to bow to any authority whatever. It is evident that this is the case with the Ritualists in greater degree than with members of any other sect. The poor Methodist negro accepts humbly the guidance of the vigorous preacher, who proclaims the wrath of God against the unrepentant sinner; and it is

to the word of God he intends to bow. The same may be said even of the stern Puritan.

The upholder of Ritualism, in fact, cannot name a single source of authority on which he relies. He says he belongs to the Anglican Church, and yet he denounces everything that belongs to it, and stubbornly refuses to obey its rulers. He insists in proclaiming that he is a Catholic, yet takes good care to receive none of the decisions of Rome. He receives the Bible and the Fathers, but he has no interpretation to give of either, except his own. He adds emphatically that "Ritual" is for him precious, only on account of the dogmas it conveys; but the long list of dogmas that he admits as embodied in the Ritual, has no theological foundation other than his own whim and caprice. To show that this is true, it is sufficient to point out the ridiculous presumption of the Ritualists when they reject the dogmatic definition of the Immaculate Conception of the Ever Blessed Virgin Mary, for no reason except that "they don't see it." This is altogether a Protestant way of treating the dogma.

The limits of this paper prevent a longer discussion of the subject. But to redeem the promise made at the outset of our remarks, a few words must be added on the peculiar features of Ritualism in this country. It was bodily imported from England. The Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States not only owed its origin to Anglicanism, but in its subsequent history it has faithfully followed the various phases of its prototype in the old country. Although soon after the separation of the United States from Great Britain, it was organized into "an independent branch of the Church of Christ," and its first bishop in point of time, Dr. Samuel Seabury, of Connecticut, was consecrated in Scotland by three Scottish bishops, yet Episcopalianism in this country, particularly in the North, has always felt a hankering toward its Anglican mother. Not only its members and ministers and bishops take a sort of pride in being animated with a true English spirit, but every movement initiated in the bosom of Anglicanism on the other side of the Atlantic, is sure to be directly inaugurated in Episcopalianism on this side. This is so remarkable that it may be doubted if the Protestant Episcopal Church has any life of its own. Every one is aware of the deep roots Tractarianism struck among us as soon as Dr. Newman and his friends in Oxford began to publish their *Tracts for the Times*. It is so also with Ritualism. It was taken up in the United States as soon as it appeared in England; and able Episcopalians in America immediately upheld it not only by adopting its innovations, but also by defending it with their pen. Dr. Dix of Trinity Church was, from the start, ardent in its defence and introduction, though it seems that his ardor has

somewhat cooled down. He was not satisfied with introducing and spreading in this country the Ritualists' books which appeared in England,—such as the *Notitia Liturgica*, *Directorium Anglicanum*, etc.,—but he compiled and even composed devotional works for hearing Mass and receiving Holy Communion, such as *The Altar Book*, *The Little Sacrament Book*, etc. The writer of several articles on Ritualism in the *Catholic World* for 1868 and 1869, mentions in particular *The Churchman's Guide to Faith and Piety*, which, he says, is quite a comprehensive work, and is published with directions for all devotions, both in and out of the Church. It bears a dedication, by permission, to the Rt. Rev. H. Potter, D.D., LL.D., D.C.L., the Bishop of New York, thus receiving the sanction of the highest Episcopalian authority.

The Ritualists of the United States, however, have always strictly followed the path of those of England, not only in their rubrics, rites, ceremonies, dogmas, etc., but likewise in the religious communities which they have founded. So that all the reflections indulged in previously apply to them, with the few exceptions that will be noticed presently. To enter into more details on their opinions and practices would be useless, as there is scarcely anything to distinguish them from those of Great Britain; and it would become necessary, too, to mention names of churches and persons, which we prefer not to do. Every one in this country who feels the least curiosity about those particulars, can easily obtain the information he desires.

But there are peculiarities in American Ritualism which it may be well to mention. There are two in particular which should not be omitted. These are the absence of opposition on the part of the States, and greater encouragement than in England from at least some of their bishops.

No "British subject" can imagine how ridiculous the proceedings of the Court of Arches and of the Privy Council, in England, appear in this country. They are, in fact, calculated to cause a smile on the face of every reasonable being, let him be citizen of the United States or not. A Christian, in particular, cannot but be shocked at the thought of them, considering the total unfitness of the State to decide on religious matters. For this is not a question of Church and State doctrine, as understood in Catholic countries. In England, at this day, it is a pure interference of the State, as a lay power, in matters which cannot possibly concern it. Courts established by Acts of Parliament, consequently courts of a simply civil and temporal order, decide even in the last resort on religious questions, so that the Church itself, the spiritual power, if there is any left in the country, has absolutely nothing to say, or to do, in all the proceedings. This

absurd position of the State has evidently originated from the total absorption by the State of what concerns religion and the soul. It is, in the eyes of all sensible men, as ludicrous as it is odious. Nothing of the kind, thank God! can happen in the United States. Those questions are left entirely to the Church; and moreover, the by-laws and canons adopted, in any religious body, are by the Judges of our State and Federal Courts considered as binding on the members of the different religious bodies. This is the only State interference that is possible in this country, and it is but reasonable and fair.

The Ritualists in the United States, consequently, have nothing to fear from State control. They cannot be fined or suspended from their clerical functions by any lay judge, as recent papers tell us has just been the case in England with poor Mr. Mackonochie. He has been again condemned to pay the costs in a late trial, and suspended from his functions, that is, deprived of his living during three years, by Lord Penzance, we believe.¹ No Ritualist clergyman in the United States feels any apprehension of a brutal persecution of this kind.

But what is a still more favorable feature, consists in the fact that the Episcopalian bishops do not seem to be so bitterly opposed to Ritualism as are the Anglican prelates. As has just been stated, the Protestant bishop of New York has not refused to give his sanction to a book of devotions, replete with the strongest expressions of the new doctrine. The only thing, in fact, which can hamper the Ritualists is public opinion, and this queen of the modern world does not appear to oppose them. Their ceremonies are faithfully reported in newspapers, and there is no mob to molest them. It is probably for this reason that the so-called Protestant hierarchy allows them to follow their bent.

How is it, that with all these advantages the Ritualists do not succeed so well in the United States as in England? That their churches do not multiply so fast? their adherents do not increase so rapidly? their "religious communities" are not so prosperous and so effective? We will not attempt to answer these questions, but close our reflections with the remark, that if their ministers do not seem to be more inclined than those of Great Britain to return to Rome, a certain number of their flocks are returning from time to time, and the day may come when the grace of God will open the eyes of the great majority among them. *Fiat, Fiat!*

¹ Since this was written, the Court of Queen's Bench has overruled Lord Penzance's decision.

THE JEWISH ELEMENT IN THE CHURCH A PROOF OF ITS APOSTOLIC ORIGIN.

1. *The Home and the Synagogue of the Modern Jew*; Sketches of Modern Jewish Life and Ceremonies. London: Religious Tract Society.
2. *Prayers of Israel*. With an English translation. 10th edition. New York: L. H. Frank, 1868.

THERE never was a time when the Scriptures were more deeply and thoroughly studied in the letter, nor when the Divine declaration that the letter killeth, while the Spirit giveth life, was more manifest. The study does not bring faith, it destroys it. Rational Germany has made the study a deathblow to whatever Christian life Protestantism has retained, and the intellectual world of England is deeply imbued with the results of German Biblicism.

The whole result is an outgrowth of the fundamental error of the Reformers. Had the Bible fallen from heaven, like the Sibylline Books, an enigma which men were to unravel or perish, it would be consonant with reason that the learned should assemble to study the language in which it was written; the particular dialect of each portion; the exact form of that dialect at the time when each writer composed his part; the peculiar use of words which each writer might have adopted; the presence of any word foreign to the dialect at that time; the exact philological meaning of each word and phrase under these aspects; the character of the writer, and his object in writing; the fact whether he was an original author, or used the previous writings of others.

When the assembled scholars had agreed on all these points, they would tell the world what the Bible really meant.

But the Old Testament and the New Testament did not fall from the sky. They are parts of the religious instruction of two organized bodies, the Jewish Church and the Christian Church, professing to be the appointed teachers of God's will to men, these bodies declaring these portions to be not only authoritative and divinely guided as all their teachings, but directly inspired by God.

The Christian Church existed before the New Testament was written, existed without it, gave it currency, used it in teaching. Claiming a divine authority as teacher, she in her instructions taught the meaning of the Scriptures already received by the Jews, and, with even greater zeal, of those she gave to the faithful as directly inspired. Viewed apart from the teaching bodies, the Jewish Church and its successor the Christian Church, the Bible loses all power.

In the hands of a living teaching body, it matters not whether a book is in its original form or language, whether it is merely an abridgment, or has been recast and modernized when language grew archaic. So long as the living teacher exists to declare its real meaning, these questions can have no real influence on the faith, while, on the other hand, where that living teacher is ignored, they sap faith entirely.

This philological use of the Bible is but carrying out the work of the Reformers, who took the volume as though it had just fallen from heaven, and insisted on reading it, without regard to the traditional teaching of which it formed a part, and the traditional religious life and thought of the bodies which grew up under that teaching.

The Jewish life and thought embodied much instruction not embraced in the Bible; and the Christian life and thought embraces no little of this Jewish life as well as that infused into it by the Apostles in forming the Church authority of Jesus Christ under the influence of the Holy Ghost.

As the Catholic Church grew out of the Jewish, in which our Lord and his disciples lived, the faithful in their life and the Church in its teaching must, in many points, coincide with the Jewish, even at this day. The modern Jew, it will be said, is Rabbinical, and has many ideas and practices, ceremonies and ideas, derived from the Talmud, and never taught or used by the Jewish Church before the Christian era, when it was especially guided by God. This is doubtless so, and the doctrinal decisions of Jewish doctors, after the Redemption and the establishment of the Christian Church, their recensions of the Scriptures to check the progress of Christianity, must lack the divine guidance. But from the very fact that from the time when the Jews rallied after the fall of their city and formed a reorganized body, they have ever been antagonist to Christianity and Christianity to them, it follows that the Modern Jews and the Catholics have not borrowed from each other. It has been impossible for ceremonies, ideas, or modes of thought to originate in either body and pass to the other.

Whatever we find in common, must have been in common when the Christian Church was formed, and Catholics, in retaining it, retain the primitive thought and practice. And it is remarkable that in this category are many things which the Reformers in the sixteenth century, in their vanity as self-constituted interpreters of Scriptures, rejected. Ideas, thoughts, practices, ceremonies, which had come down from Mosaic times to our Saviour's time, and had been thence perpetuated alike by Jew and Catholic, were swept away, not because they were or could be proved to be wrong, but simply because the Bible, which nowhere declares itself to be the

sole and entire body of the teaching, does not enjoin them openly and distinctly.

Recently the world has begun to study the Jewish body, found in all countries, seen every day, and felt in the business affairs of the world, but as absolutely unknown, interiorly, in its life, practices, and thought, as though they were undecipherable.

It is a striking fact that every work on this Jewish life brings up practices and ideas which Protestants find very strange, but which are perfectly familiar to the Catholic, who at once derives consolation from this new proof that forms of devotion, which have been made a reproach to him, were undoubtedly practiced by our Lord and His disciples, and were thus handed down in the Christian Church.

Our Lord certainly used the devotions and practices of the pious Jews of His day. The Evangelists have not enumerated or mentioned them, but from the importance ever attached to them by the Jews, we can see that His rejecting them would have been brought forward in the accusations against our Lord, whereas, amid all the false charges made against Him, there is none that He never used the talith or phylactery, or neglected to offer the son's prayer for the dead on the grave of Saint Joseph, or to perform any other duty then regarded as incumbent on a person of ordinary piety. And, on the other hand, our Lord denounces and condemns none of the practices then common among the pious; He censured the exaggerations of those who affected great devotion, but were often really at heart mere hypocrites; He does not tell His disciples to reject the practices, but simply to follow the custom of the humble and really pious souls who made no pretences. As a teacher in Israel He would have shocked men had He not worn a phylactery at prayer, or the talith with its fringes. That He wore the latter is certain, as the word used in Matthew xxiii. 5 for the fringes of the talith, where he is speaking of the Pharisees, is the same word (*kraspedon*, *fimbria*) used by the same Apostle in speaking of our Lord himself (Matthew xi. 20, xi. 36), where it is evident that this *kraspedon* was the fringes not of any ordinary garment, but of the talith. To these fringes the Jews attach great importance, there being precise rules as to the material, number, and length of threads forming them, which can be spun only by a Jew.

Not long since, in one of our crowded cities, a little Jewish synagogue was opened opposite a house of Sisters of Charity, who could see their sabbath service, each Jew wearing his fringed talith. One describing the scene said that they put on the talith like a stole. And there can be no doubt that the fringed stole of the Christian priest is the talith worn by our Lord and His Apos-

tles, modified in process of time, and that the fringe was adopted not as a mere ornament, but a constituent part of the vestment.

Like the fringed talith, the stole is the garment of prayer; it is used in administering the sacraments, in assisting the dying, in burying the dead. As the Chanaanite woman and the believing people of Genesareth were healed by touching the fringe of our Lord's talith, so the priest of the New Law in admitting one by baptism into the Church lays the fringe of his stole upon him, that he too may be delivered by our Lord from all spiritual ailments. A similar use is seen in the ritual for churching women. It at once strikes the Catholic that in the stole of the priest we have the ancient fringed talith of the Jews; but this is not all. As we are bound always to pray (St. Luke xviii. 1, xxi. 36, Ephes. vi. 18), so the pious Jews considered that the talith should be worn constantly; but not to make their piety a stumbling-block to scoffers, they divided the talith into two garments, the greater worn only at regular seasons of prayer, and the smaller, talith katon, worn constantly. "The talith katon, however, is constantly worn in order that the Jews may fulfil the command of wearing fringes the whole day. It consists of two quadrangular pieces, generally of wool, the same as the talith gadol, joined together by two broad straps, and a space left sufficient for the head to pass between, exactly," says the author of the *Home and Synagogue*, "exactly like a popish scapular." As the scapular of our Lady of Mount Carmel comes from an order which originated at a very early day in the very land of the Children of Israel, we may well believe that the garment in use among the Jews as a badge of acknowledgment on their part of their duty ever to pray, and never to cease, was adopted and sanctioned in the New Law. In this view, as the stole is the talith of the priest, the scapular is the talith of the people; both really links in the proof of the apostolicity of the Church.

A third point to which modern Jews attach great importance is the m'zuzah. This is a square piece of vellum on which part of Deuteronomy, vi. 4-9, and xi. 13-21, is written in twenty-two equal lines. This is then rolled up tight, and on the outside is inscribed the word "Shaddai" (Almighty God), and also generally the names of three angels. The roll is then placed in a cylindrical case of glass, metal or cane, a small hole being made where the word "Shaddai" appears. This case is then fastened to the right-hand door-post of each door in the house, and is saluted or kissed on entering or leaving the house or room. To the m'zuzah Jews now ascribe great virtues.

It is not only used for the door; we have seen a small one on fine vellum, encased in a little cylinder of gold with a cap, and a little hole in the side, that the sacred name may be seen, in which

form they are worn by a chain on the neck. Others less costly were worn by those who could not afford so expensive an article.

In this usage we can see the origin of the Catholic custom of wearing on the person a printed copy of the beginning of the Gospel according to St. John.

In the daily division of prayer, we see the division of the divine office as in our Catholic Breviary. The office begins with the first vespers (*minchah*), the day beginning at sunset, both in the Jewish and Catholic ecclesiastical reckoning. The vesper service of the Jews closes with "the orphan *Kadish*, or prayer for the dead."¹ Our vespers too end: "May the souls of the faithful, through the mercy of God, rest in peace, Amen." How evident it becomes that our service was drawn up in the Holy Land by those who were of the house of Israel; and yet at the Reformation the ecclesiastical division of the day and prayers for the dead, which had come down so many long ages through Jewish and Christian channels were ignorantly rejected.

The Sabbath closes with the second vespers and night prayers, corresponding to our vespers and complin.

In fact, in the Jewish prayer book we have the division into the four seasons of the ecclesiastical year, and the canonical hours of the day, still observed in the Catholic Church. Traced back, all the ideas and practices of the Church show their origin among those who were habituated to the Jewish Ritual. Yet men of northern race, utter strangers to the Oriental life and thought, rejected all this, and, combining with their remnant of Catholic faith ideas borrowed from their own scarce forgotten heathen ancestors, accused the Church of being but a modified paganism, so little could they discern the rites and practices of the Jewish Church in use among the kindred and disciples of our Lord from those of the pagans from whom the Jews shrunk in horror.

The Blessed Sacrament of the Eucharist was instituted by our Lord after celebrating the Pasch with His Apostles. If the Church has a life continuous from that day, we will naturally look in the Mass of the various rites for some trace of the Paschal service even as now kept by the Jews; and we find their ritual almost identical

¹ There are several orders for prayers for the dead: First, those which are offered on the Sabbath succeeding the death; second, those which are offered as regular portions of the Sabbath ritual; and third, those which are read on the anniversary of deaths. The following occur in these prayers:

"O Father of compassion, grant heavenly peace and blessing to the soul that hath entered to his (or her) eternal home, and strengthen the mourners that they may bear thy dispensations in faith and devotion. O Lord and Father, we this day remember our departed brother (or sister). We beseech thee, cause him (or her) to enjoy the happiness which thou hast reserved for those who trust in Thee, in Thy eternal kingdom."
—Daniel's "Post Christian Judaism."

in all parts of the world. The wonderful harmony in the canon of the Mass in the Latin, Gallican, Ambrosian, and various Oriental Rites, many of them preserved by sects long at variance with the See of Rome, is one great proof of their ancient origin in Apostolic times. Traces of similarity to Pasch or Passover service will also tend to show that it was originally arranged by Jews to whom that service was familiar, by the Apostles themselves, and could not have been the creation of a later time or a pagan country.

Now, who can help feeling that the Preface: "It is truly right, just, and available to salvation, that we should always and in all places give thanks to Thee, etc.," was but a new form of the Jewish prayer: "We therefore are in duty bound to thank, praise, adore, glorify, extol, honor, bless, exalt, and reverence Him who wrought all the miracles for our ancestors and us; for He brought us forth from bondage to freedom, from sorrow to joy, from mourning into holidays, from darkness to great light, and from servitude to redemption; and, therefore, let us chant unto Him a new song: Alleluia! Praise ye the Lord! Praise, O ye servants of the Lord, praise the name of the Lord! Blessed be the name of the Lord from henceforth and forever more."

A prayer in the morning service beginning: "Blessed art thou, O Lord our God," closes with a wish to join with the various choirs of angels in blessing God. "They are all lovely, all pure, all mighty, and all performing with terror and fear the pleasure of their Creator; and all open their mouths in holiness with purity, with songs, with psalmody; they bless and praise, glorify and strengthen, sanctify and proclaim the name of the Almighty King! great, strong, and tremendous, holy is He; and they all receive the yoke of the kingdom of heaven upon them, one from the other, and give power one to the other, to sanctify their Creator with a quiet mind, pure lips, and with holy sweetness; they all answer as one, and say with awe: Holy! Holy! Holy! O Lord of Hosts, the whole earth is full of His glory."

We are reminded too of the Preface in the "Blessed be he who cometh in the name of the Lord," which occurs soon after, and of parts of the Mass recalled in the washing of the hands by the person presiding, and in the breaking of the circular unleavened wafer. The "*Quid retribuam*" of the Mass: "What shall I render to the Lord for all his benefits towards me; I will take the cup of salvation and call upon the name of the Lord," also occurs in the Jewish Paschal Ritual.

The prayer: "Our God and the God of our fathers shall cause our prayers to ascend," and "Come, approach, be seen, accepted, heard, and be thought on; and be remembered in remembrance of us, and in remembrance of our fathers, in remembrance of Thine Anointed

Messias, the son of David Thy servant, and in remembrance of Jerusalem, Thy holy city, and in commemoration of all Thy people, the house of Israel before Thee, to a good issue, with favor, with grace and mercy, to life and peace on this day of the Feast of Unleavened Bread," suggests at once that which formed the basis of the "Communicantes" of the Mass. And in the prayer: "For we do not presume to present our supplications before Thee for our righteousness, but for Thy great mercy," we have exactly the "*Non æstimator meriti, sed veniæ quæsumus, largitor, admitte*" of the Mass; and in another place we meet the "*Laudamus Te, benedicimus Te, glorificamus Te*," of the Gloria in Excelsis.

The Paschal Lamb is no longer eaten by the Jews as it was in the days of our Lord, and the Jewish Ritual now has no prayers such as accompanied that most important rite of the Pasch, that which figured our Lord, and must have borne the closest relation to the Mass. But even as the ritual stands, shorn of that distinctive rite, we see unmistakable evidence that the office used on that occasion by our Lord constituted the basis of the Mass.

The commencement of the Mass is recalled by the service of the Day of Atonement. "I copy out one of the prayers," says the author of the *Home and Synagogue*, "which struck me as curious, both from the wording, and from the fact that the Jews, whilst repeating the sins mentioned in the prayer, smote vehemently their breasts at the name of every sin they uttered.

"Our God and the God of our fathers, may our prayers come before Thee, and conceal not Thyself from our supplications, for we are not so shameless of face and perverse as to declare in Thy presence, O Lord our God and the God of our fathers, that we are righteous and have done no sin, for verily we have sinned. We have trespassed; we have dealt treacherously; we have robbed; we have spoken slander; we have committed iniquity; we have done wickedness; we have acted presumptuously; we have committed violence; we have framed falsehood; we have devised evil counsels; we have uttered falsities; we have scorned; we have rebelled; we have blasphemed; we have been refractory; we have transgressed; we have oppressed; we have been stiffnecked; we have acted wickedly; we have corrupted; we have committed abomination; we have erred; we have led others astray; and we have departed from Thy commandments, and from Thy good institutions, and which hath not profited us. But Thou art just in all that has come upon us; for Thou hast done truly, and we have done wickedly."

This does not strike a Catholic as curious, for we can easily believe that our Confiteor and striking the breast originated here.

Among the feasts of the Jewish year, it is a curious fact that

there is one which we know our Lord himself observed (St. John x. 22),¹ and of which the institution is fully and beautifully described in our Catholic Bibles, but has been expunged from the Protestant. This is the Feast of the Dedication of the Temple of Jerusalem under Judas Machabeus after its sacrilegious profanation by Antiochus. The remarkable feature of the feast is the lighting of candles in commemoration of the relighting of the sacred lamp in the Temple. "They lighted up the lamps that were upon the candlestick, and they gave light in the Temple." From this the Jews call it Chanukah or the Feast of Lights. It is somewhat amusing to see Protestant works, like the *Home and Synagogue*, avoid all allusion to the Books of Machabees, but it is fearful to see them write: "The Feast of Chanukah, or Dedication, is one of those festivals in the Jewish calendar which have not been originally instituted by God in His Church of the Old Covenant." That the Jewish Church in the time of the Machabees in instituting it acted under the guidance of God, is proved conclusively by the fact that our Lord himself observed the feast and went up to the Temple on that day, giving the feast and the institution His direct and divine sanction, and this sanction cannot be made void by any refusal of any set of men to receive the books in which the full record of the ceremony exists.

The Jewish Ritual recognizes it as instituted by God. "Blessed art Thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, who hast sanctified us with Thy commandments, and *commanded* us to light the lights of Dedication." "These lights we light to praise Thee for the miracles, wonders, salvation and victories which Thou didst perform for our fathers in those days, and in this season, by the hands of Thy holy priests. Therefore by command these lights are holy all the eight days of Dedication, neither are we permitted to make any other use of them save to view them, that we may return thanks to Thy name, for Thy miracles, wonders, and salvation."

This feast shows Catholics the Jewish origin, and our Lord's sanction of the ceremony of dedicating a church, and rededicating, or reconciling it when it has been profaned. The feast was one of the greater ones of the Jewish law, and kept as the Church still keeps great feasts, that is, with an octave, or for eight days. It shows also the use of candles as a mark of holy joy, and the custom of blessing and setting them apart especially to be burnt in honor of God. We too have our Winter Feast of Light as the Jews have, and connected too with that House of God in which Our Lord walked. It is the Feast of the Purification of the Blessed

¹ "And it was the feast of the Dedication at Jerusalem: and it was winter. And Jesus walked in the Temple in Solomon's porch." For the institution of the feast see 1. Machabees, iv. 59.

Virgin and of the Presentation of her Divine Son in the Temple. If we do not call it the Feast of Light, we do style it "The Mass of the Candles,—Candlemas, for we bless and light candles in honor of God."

The preparation for death, and the prayers for the dead, show conclusively that the traditional customs of the children of Israel, retained by Catholics for more than fifteen hundred years, were only through sheer ignorance rejected as novelties. It is a Catholic custom to have a habit prepared and blessed, and often kept for years, in order to be laid out in it after death. Yet even this is of Jewish origin. "At sundown on the Day of Atonement," says W. H. Daniels, "the Jewish synagogues are thronged with worshippers, some of whom come in their shrouds, which many devout Jews keep by them as much as they do a Sunday coat."

The custom of pious Catholics repeating to the dying person the holy name of Jesus, and of persons in health forming the wish and asking in prayer to die, uttering "the only name under heaven by which we may be saved" is a continuation of a Jewish custom. Surrounded by pagan nations given up to the worship of a multitude of false gods, the great dogma insisted on by the Jewish Church was the unity of the Godhead. "The Lord thy God is one God." As death approaches, the prayers for the dying are recited, the dying man makes an act accepting death as due to his sins. When a Jew enters into his agony, those present repeat: "The Eternal reigneth, the Eternal hath reigned, the Eternal shall reign forever and ever. Blessed be the name of His glorious kingdom for ever and ever. The Eternal is the only God. Hear, O Israel, the Eternal is one God, the Eternal is ONE." The bystanders are careful that the last word, which contains the essence of the Jewish faith, shall be repeated at the very moment when the sufferer expires.

With us the candle is lighted when the Litany for the dying is said, and at a Jewish deathbed as soon as the person expires. In the following prayer, which is offered up for the deceased before he is committed to the grave, the Catholic will see a striking resemblance to the prayer for the dying, "I commend thee to Almighty God, dearest brother," in our ritual:

"We beseech Thee, O Lord, most merciful King, in whose hand is the soul of every living thing, and the breath of all flesh, to accept our prayer and supplication in behalf of (N. son or daughter of N.), and deal graciously with him according to Thy great mercy; open unto him the gates of mercy and compassion, and the gates of Paradise; receive him with love and favor; send unto him Thy holy angels to lead him beneath the tree of life, to the company of the souls of the righteous and virtuous, there to enjoy the brightness of Thy glory. Satisfy him with Thy benevolence, which is laid up for the just; and

grant also that the body may rest in repose, and be established in gladness, joy, and peace, as it is written: 'He shall enter into peace, they shall rest in their beds, each one walking in his uprightness,' and again: 'Let the saints be joyful in glory; let them sing aloud upon their beds;' and again: 'When thou liest down thou shalt not be afraid, yea thou shalt lie down, and thy sleep shall be sweet.' Oh, keep him from the Chibut Hakeber, and from the worms and vermin in his grave; pardon and forgive him all his iniquities, for there is not a just person upon earth that doeth good and sinneth not. Remember him, his merits and righteousness, which he has done, and bring soul-healing to the ashes of his bones in the grave, from the great portion of good which is laid up for the righteous; as it is written: Oh, how great is Thy goodness, which Thou hast laid up for them that fear Thee, and again: 'He keepeth all his bones, not one of them is broken.' Let him dwell in safety and be quiet from fear of evil. May he not see hell, but let his soul be bound in the bundle of eternal life, and quicken him at the resurrection of the dead, among the number of Thy people Israel. Amen."

The *Chibut Hakeber* is a temporal punishment after death which they believe befalls those not buried in the Holy Land, and doubtless others. It is not the only trace of our belief in purgatory, for it is the common belief among the Jews that only a very small number, five, of the very holiest servants of God have been admitted to the presence of God and the felicity of heaven.

The notices of deaths in Jewish newspapers have expressions which we have retained:

"On Rosh Hodesh, Ab (July 11) 5637 (1877) Abraham Woolf Jacobs, the infant son of Aaron and Rachel Jacobs. Peace to his soul. Rebecca, the beloved wife of A. Rosener. May her soul rest in peace."

The introit of the Mass for the Dead, and which recurs in the office of the dead so frequently: "Rest eternal give him, O Lord, and let perpetual light shine upon him," is evidently of very ancient Hebrew use, as we find the expressions in the non-canonical fourth book of Esdras, ch. ii. 34. "Look for your pastor, he will give you the rest of eternity; because he is at hand, that shall come in the end of the world. Be ye ready for the rewards of the kingdom, because perpetual light shall shine to you for time everlasting."

But "of all the prayers in the Jewish Ritual," says a recent work, "none is more important than the Kadish or prayer for the dead. It is the duty of every son for eleven months after the death of his father to repeat this prayer. This is one great reason why Jewish parents are so anxious for male issue, as females are not allowed to say it. Jews who have no male children, frequently adopt a son for that purpose. Societies also exist to provide persons to say Kadish for such parents. This prayer is as follows:

"And now I beseech Thee, let the power of my Lord be great, according as Thou hast spoken. Remember, O Lord, Thy tender mercies, for they have been ever of old. May His great name be magnified and sanctified throughout the world which he hath created according to His own good pleasure. May He establish His kingdom while ye live, in your day, and while all the house of Israel be living, speedily, even in time quickly coming, and say ye, Amen. May His great name be blessed; may it be adored forever, even forever and ever. May all blessings, praises, glorifying, exaltation, eminence, honor, excellence, and adoration be ascribed unto His holy and blessed name, far exceeding all blessings, hymns, praises, and beatitudes which are recited throughout the world, and say ye, Amen. Oh may He through His mercy and good will accept our prayers. May the supplications and entreaties of all the house of Israel be accepted in the presence of their Father who is in heaven, and say ye, Amen. Blessed be the name of the Lord for this time forth and forevermore. May there be abundance of peace from heaven, with life unto us, and to all Israel, and say ye, Amen. My help cometh from the Lord who made heaven and earth. May the Maker of Peace, through His infinite mercies, grant peace unto us and to all Israel, and say ye, Amen."

This prayer, it will be noticed, does not allude to the deceased as the former prayer did. It is said for his benefit, and by the son as it were in the person of the father, who seems to say: "Have mercy on me, at least you, my friends, and offer up the prayers I can no longer offer myself."

"The day before New Year is regarded as a fast, and after morning service in the synagogue the Jews visit the graves of the dead, upon whom they call for intercessory prayer." On the feast after the usual morning service, the author of the *Home and Synagogue* says there follows "a prayer for the dead, when the precentor calls upon each of the departed by name and implores God to have mercy upon them. Every Jew here offered up a prayer for his deceased friends."

The whole Jewish system is completely imbued with this idea of prayer for the dead; and, as we have seen, takes the form of invoking them as friends of God.

"The prayers of Israel" containing morning and evening prayers, Prayers for the Sabbath, the three Festivals, Hanukah, Purim, the Ethics, the Priestly Blessing, Grace before and after Meat, Blessings, Night Prayers, besides all the prayers for the dead that occur incidentally, closes with the "Service for the Dead."

"To make a funeral feast was anciently a method of honoring the dead, and is still continued in the East," says Burder. Chardon says: "The Oriental Christians still make banquets of this kind by a custom derived from the Jews." By the Hebrew usage prayers

were said for the dead on the weekly, monthly, and yearly anniversary, corresponding to our Month's Mind and yearly anniversary. In the East, people on the anniversary of a relative or friend, meet at the grave to eat a pious and frugal repast in memory of him. And the words of Tobias evidently allude to this custom: "*Panem tuum et vinum tuum super sepulturam justi constitue et noli ex eo manducare et bibere cum peccatoribus*" (Tob. iv. 18), which the original Douay rendered: "Set thy bread and thy wine upon the burial (*i. e.*, of a just man), and do not eat and drink thereof with sinners."

With this usage common among the Jews, and the consuming of bread and wine on the grave being a tribute to a just man not to be partaken with sinners, we can easily see how natural it was for the primitive Christians to consume the Sacred Species of the New Law on the tombs of the martyrs, which thus became the altars of the Christian Church.

There are at every step in Jewish faith and practice points which strike us forcibly. "The Jews hold," says the author we have frequently cited, "that the Law was given in a twofold character. There was the Torah Shebetekeh, the Law which is in writing; and the Torah Shebeal Peh, the Law which is 'upon the lip,' or in other words Scripture and Tradition, the Written and the Oral Law."

The elevating and unveiling of the Torah in the synagogue suggests to some writers the Elevation in the Mass; but there is no real analogy. But we see in the ceremony a meaning, in the unveiling of the crucifix on Good Friday. "The reader in the synagogue, after unveiling the scroll elevates it before the people, and says: This is the Torah which Moses set before the children of Israel by the command of the Lord." St. Paul, as if arguing against this confidence in the Law, shows his countrymen that they could not be saved through the Law; but through Christ who reconciled all things unto the Father, "making peace through the blood of His cross." (Coloss. i. 20). So when on Good Friday the priest lifts up the veiled cross as the Jewish reader lifts up the Torah, and then unveils it, he does it to declare that salvation is through Christ: "*Ecce lignum Crucis in quo salus mundi pependit*," and not through the Law.

The Litany of the saints in its impetratory clauses and prayers at the end has its type in the Jewish service.

Few Catholics will see a Jewish shekel showing the cup of manna, without feeling that its shape suggested that of our Ciborium, made to hold the true Bread which came down from heaven.

Protestant writers frequently picture Catholics hurrying to Mass. They seem to see an eagerness and haste which is habitual and scarcely noticed by ourselves. And yet it has its counterpart in ancient Jewish usage. It was directed that any one going up to

the Temple to offer a sacrifice or prayer for his own special wants of soul or body, should ascend Mount Sion like a soldier going up to assault a fortress. They were not to pray remissly; they were to show the earnestness of their prayer and want in their very gait. The words of our Lord: "The kingdom of heaven suffereth violence, and the violent bear it away" (take it by storm), may be an allusion to this Jewish injunction. The office for churching women after childbirth is common to the Jewish and Catholic Rituals.

Austerities, the discipline, the wearing of hair-cloth and the like are constantly attacked. They are Catholic usages that do not suit those who love their bodies. Yet scourging is part of the service of the Jewish day of Atonement. Some of the congregation prostrate themselves on the ground, while others inflict upon them with a leathern thong, forty stripes, save one, and then those who have been thus chastised, inflict the same in turn upon their chastisers.

Thus in a thousand ways the Catholic comes upon practices among the Jews which are perfectly familiar to him, but which, from the isolation of the Jews, he supposed peculiar to ourselves. We have for that reason cited more at length, to show that the resemblances are not forced or imaginary, but inherent, growing out of a common thought; and that the points in which Catholic and Jew have alike preserved a custom, must be as old at least as Christianity itself and been established in the Christian Church by those who first preached the Gospel.

The countless resemblances, even to the very form of the offices, made up of psalms, prayers, versicles and responses, extracts from scripture, or the writings of holy doctors, leave no alternative except to say that Catholics wrote the Jewish prayer book, or that those who prepared the Catholic ritual and offices were Jews. The first is absurd and impossible. But if Jews prepared the Catholic liturgy, it was in the first generation of Christians, and in Jerusalem, for only then and there was the Jewish element dominant in the Church. No one in any other land, or of pagan origin, could have drawn up offices so imbued with the Jewish spirit, much less have imposed it on the Church in all lands.

The little work which has been used freely, and of which we placed the title at the head of the article, is, of course, hostile to us and insincere. It hurls anathemas against the Pope, and the Church for their treatment of the Jews, but finds no such harsh terms to qualify their treatment by Prussia and Russia. The universality of prayers for the dead among the Jews, elicits no acknowledgment that the practice is more ancient than Christianity, and so with other points. They were too marked and distinctive to be suppressed, but are given without remark, and every opportunity is taken to suggest that Roman Catholicism is not Christianity. But

the study of Jewish life cannot strengthen Protestantism. It serves to show with what rash and ignorant haste the Reformers rejected doctrines, devotions, and principles which were recognized when our Lord began His mission on earth, and which were embodied in the Church which he founded. The Jews are a living proof, by retaining them.

Our writers have so rarely used arguments drawn from Jewish usage, or merely alluded to them in a cursory manner, that we have gone more into detail than would be otherwise necessary; but it is evident that a wide field for the illustration of Catholic doctrines and worship can be found in the life of the once Chosen People, for whom our Holy Mother, the Church, prays "that our Lord God will withdraw the veil from their hearts, that they too may acknowledge our Lord Jesus Christ."

METEOROLOGICAL ASPECTS OF THE PACIFIC COAST.

Physics of the Infectious Diseases. By C. A. Logan, A.M., M.D., 1878.
Jansen, McClurg & Co., Chicago.

History of Civilization in England. By Henry Thomas Buckle, 2 vols., 1872. D. Appleton & Co., New York.

THE Pacific Coast of the American Continent is destined to be the quarter whence will issue soon the greatest discoveries in physical science. The grandeur of the objects it presents is apt to strike every observer. Nature seems here to have carried on her operations upon a larger scale and with a bolder hand, and to have distinguished the features of this region by a peculiar magnificence. Her forces she has here striven to display most clearly, by the pronounced way and the broad fields in which their effects are wrought. Her operations are less trammelled by that multiplicity of circumscribed and conflicting laws, to which in other quarters of the world she seems to have recourse to screen her secrets from man. Her laws, therefore, are here possible to be studied with more ease and advantage than where Nature is weaker, or where the effects she works are less pronounced and conspicuous. It is here that earthquakes and volcanic disturbances are most frequent, and where the energy and destroying power of those agencies are displayed upon the most tremendous scale. There is

here presented a coast of peculiar character; meteorological phenomena obtain, in striking contrast with the operation of laws which elsewhere prevail; and stupendous chains of mountains,— unquestionably associated in their origin with those meteorological phenomena, and remarkable for their extent and elevation,— seem even eager to obtrude upon obtuse man, those secrets which Nature everywhere else seemingly labors with such jealousy to conceal.

And yet, we may venture to say, the accession to our fund of knowledge has been least from this quarter of the world. It may be that the reason is, that the temptation here presented, is to course along a higher range of inquiry and observation; and that, therefore, scientists have studiously avoided such an inviting field, because the order of thought to which such bold phenomena prompt them, savors too much of speculation, which it is their creed to eschew. They count nothing as legitimate in this age of rigorous induction but the accumulation of a vast number of minute and detailed observations. Any bold leap to a general law co-ordinating a multitude of diverse facts, they esteem scientific heresy. A strict conformity to their method of research would require years to evolve any outcome of moment; and it is only when a scientist scorns the trammels imposed, that any advance in deductive science is ever achieved.

Some qualification of this stricture is needed. The rigor of this method of research of theirs they relax when speculation has for its object the establishment of a seeming discord between science and religion. In every such essay, they recognize and commend the legitimacy of a departure from their approved canons of investigation. It is in these directions only, wherein they fancy they can establish this incongruity, that they indulge in any broad or bold generalizations, or believe it lawful to give the rein to their conjectural sagacity. At the present time, the soul of the scientist can soar to a height in speculative science, only when buoyed and sustained by the enthusiasm born of attempts to heap contempt and obloquy upon religion. In fields where such a motive does not obtain, or where all the zeal of infidelity is ineffectual to discern how it may be made operative, they plod along their way, carefully restricting all advance to the mere accumulation of the minutest details. This is a fact impossible to be gainsaid. Take any one of the bold speculations in the domain of science now inviting acceptance, and it will be found that, either openly or covertly, the aim which prompted the author to leave his minute researches for the field of generalization, has been either to prove all religion an absurdity, or to maintain that the influence of the Church has been to discourage all original inquiry and to

fetter freedom of thought. Instead of improving the hint which those among the noblest of God's inorganic works, the mountains, give when they point their peaks to heaven, and intimate with silent eloquence the agency which the central luminary of our system has in producing the energy which thrills and pulses in their wombs; instead of further improving such a hint, and directing their efforts toward the ascertainment of the secret of the force which guides the magnetic needle and influences its variations, they indulge in the most far-fetched sociological speculations; pervert the lesson which should be derived from the mountains in labor; and, with silly conceit, essay to gauge the fancied influence which earthquakes have upon the character of the inhabitants of the vicinity, whose minds, untutored yet by pseudo-science, still look through Nature up to Nature's God. Such was avowedly the motive which inspired Buckle in his speculations; and, all of his transgressions against the principles of the inductive philosophy are fully pardoned him, because his study of earthquake action had for its object to display "the craft with which an artful and ambitious priesthood turns the insecurity felt from the recurrence of such shocks, into an engine for the advancement of its power." Had his object been other than what it was; had his motive been mere zeal for the advancement of science; had his design been to fix the relation subsisting between the solar influence and earthquake action, recourse such as he has had to the most illegitimate methods of research, would have been greeted with a perfect storm of derision and of condemnation. But, the end he had in view sanctioned even the most outrageous violations of approved canons of investigation.

The proposition we maintain, that speculation is held permissible in this age, only when religion is to be attacked, could be established beyond the possibility of cavil, by taking up each speculation now obtaining in the world of science, and discovering to the reader that the object has avowedly been such as is stated. This it was which prompted Darwin to claim kinship with the chimpanzee. This it was which inspired Herbert Spencer to replace the First and Final Cause by the principle of evolution. This it is which imparts energy and gives sanction to the efforts of Huxley and Tyndall to discountenance every proof of the interposition of Divine Providence. This it was which urged Lecky to probe the moral sores and ulcers of European life. Where is there any attempt carried on with equal zeal, to discover the tie which so obviously subsists between the phenomena of solar spots and the variation of the magnetic needle? The bold and inquisitive spirit, which is the boast of the age, disdains such inquiries, while

there are the more attractive fields where is being enacted the conflict between pseudo-science and religion.

It is with pleasure, therefore, we hail the publication of the exceptional work at the head of our list. Speculation has in it been attempted, solely out of zeal for the advancement of knowledge. The book is replete with information for every reader, and with peculiar interest for every physician and man of science. It is fraught with many discoveries which, at the least, may be ranked as valuable pioneer-work in the domain of meteorology. The necessity of generalization in the two compartments of science to which the author has directed his inquiries, must be obvious to every one, and his is a noble effort to rise from particular facts in order to discover the laws by which those facts are governed. Not until very lately had there been any systematic attempt to co-ordinate these phenomena in the order of their coexistences and sequences. In that department of his researches which bears upon the origin of diseases, he has unquestionably the merit of being the first to establish a scientific relation. Were his speculations even to issue in their own refutation, they could not be regarded as barren hypotheses, should they set those who attempt the task of their confutation on the track of important truths, and enable them to develop the true chain of causation. It is true, that in the estimation of those "abreast of the age," he has lain himself open to the imputation of being wanting in the true scientific spirit, though not having dogmatized, with the regulation air of pity and contempt, upon the encouragement which earthquakes give to the growth and progress of superstition in South America, by increasing the peril of human life, and consequently occasioning the frequency and fervency with which supernatural aid is invoked. As a partial set-off to this obvious defect, the book is written in a style at once vigorous, clear, and faultlessly elegant; and his conclusions, which seem to do away with all the difficulties in his path, tie together many diverse facts in a remarkably satisfactory manner.

It adds not a little to the credit due the author for this achievement, that during the greater part of the time he was employed in the district of country of which he treats, he held a high diplomatic post, which, had he been content to follow an example but too common, might well have exonerated him, for the time, from that duty which, as Blackstone has it, every man of liberal education owes to his profession. This volume is the fruit of his sojourn in Chili, to which place he was accredited as United States Minister. The official facilities which he enjoyed, his standing in the United States as a physician and geologist of national repute, and his exceptional opportunities for observation and for acquiring local information, eminently qualified him for the task he has undertaken.

A very brief residence in Chili sufficed to apprise him of an anomaly there obtaining, which naturally challenged his curiosity as a physician. He found that the acute infectious diseases which rage with such virulence in other countries were there almost unknown. What added to the strangeness of the circumstance, was that all the conditions of their existence seemed to be present and amply fulfilled, yet this exemption obtained. No sporadic cases whatever are known, and those cases which do occur by being introduced into the country through defective quarantine regulations soon die out, and even in these isolated cases the diseases seem to have lost much of their malignity and to be wanting in several of the symptoms which elsewhere are understood to give them their character. Small-pox, for instance, has at times been introduced into the country, but is so extremely mild, and so peculiar in its phases, that its identity could be safely questioned were not its derivation known. To such an extent do these peculiarities prevail along the whole extent of the Pacific Coast, that small-pox seems to have lost both its identity and its venom. There appears to be such little, or such utter absence of all efficacy in vaccination, that its use as a preventive is abandoned as ineffectual; and, the fact of having had an attack is a matter of no moment whatever, that circumstance in nowise operating to prevent the recurrence of another, or to mitigate, in the least, its symptoms. These peculiarities, instead of evidencing a peculiar virulence, do actually indicate and accompany a disease which has lost its venom so entirely, that it becomes a question as to whether it should be classed under the head of acute infectious diseases. Yellow fever and cholera are alike rare, and where exist isolated cases, the features of those diseases are similarly mild. Of the existence even of these diseases there are no reliable reports, cases of mortality being occasionally ascribed to yellow fever and cholera, which are, in reality, altogether different ailments. "An American officer, at Callao," the author says, "was reported as having died some twelve months since of yellow fever, while there was no other case in the country. His real disease was glycosuria."

The author conjectured that the best means of gaining an insight into the specific causation of this important class of diseases, was to study out the causes of this notable exemption. He questioned himself, "What physical influences exist capable of averting from the inhabitants of this region a class of diseases elsewhere furnishing so wide an outlet to human life?" He tested the hypothesis that a geographical inaccessibility to contagious intercourse with other parts of the world was the occasion of the exemption, and found it wanting. The probability of its being due to any such inaccessibility was refuted, he saw, by the fact that steamers ply up

and down the coast continually from all parts of the world, with none of the restrictions of a comprehensive quarantine to bar off the infection. The ports upon the Chilian coast are but eight to twelve days from the yellow fever and cholera foci of Brazil and other Atlantic coasts, while the city of Guayaquil is but four days', Payta but five days, and Callao but seven days' steaming from the isthmus of Panama, the great international highway between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. The isolated cases he saw bore no proportion whatever to the means of communicating the infection, while even those cases soon died out without contagious effects, and were anomalously mild in character.

Having satisfactorily eliminated this alleged cause, the problem was then beset by a further difficulty in the shape of a cause assigned by the advocates of the germ theory of disease. They had been wont to ascribe the exemption to the peculiar aridity of the atmosphere which there prevails. So marked and peculiar is this feature of the region of the Pacific Coast of South America, that in several places a shower of rain would be an occasion for a nine days' wonder, and in other districts of the country rain never falls from one end of the year to the other. From the circumstance that the exemption from these diseases was peculiar, conjoined with the fact that this aridity of the atmosphere was likewise peculiar, scientists had been content to conjecture a connection between the two, and had idly settled down to a belief, derived from their coincidence, that the resolution of the one into the other sufficiently solved the problem of the exemption. They fancied that, as the infectious diseases originate from the direct influence of germs which wanton in the air, the exemption was due to the circumstance that the anhydrous condition of the atmosphere was incompatible with the development or existence of those germs. But this view our author successfully controverts. A careful analysis of the phenomena in question conclusively convinced him that it was not competent to assign the aridity of the atmosphere as the cause, for he found that no variation in the quantity of the cause assigned wrought any variety or change in the quantity of the effect alleged. Those regions where this atmospheric feature pre-eminently prevails, he found to possess fully their quota of the isolated cases of disease; and that in those regions where moisture prevailed to the extent known elsewhere, or even to the maximum extent possible, the character and frequency of the diseases were in nowise augmented.

He satisfied himself by a thorough study of all the physical influences of the region, that the earthquakes there so prevalent, in some manner or other, lay at the foundation of the exemption. This opinion he found was very general among the natives, being

derived by them both from observation and from tradition. From the prevalence of these earthquakes, and from the theory which he entertained respecting their origin, he inferred a highly electric condition, which, by its operation upon the infectious molecules in the atmosphere, produced the sanitary condition of the region. This electricity, which he assumes is so violent as to produce the effect of earthquake action, he contends is likewise an agent powerfully operative in inducing energetic transmutation of the germs, and that it directly decomposes the infectious molecules by chemical rearrangement or breaking up of their atoms. A thunderstorm in our northern regions is known to mitigate, temporarily, an epidemic visitation. In like manner the same influence is operative in its action upon fresh milk, where it works its effects by splitting up the molecules of sugar in the fluid. From these analogies he draws the inference that the same peculiar agency, electricity, which produces these effects, operates in a way identical, on the Pacific Coast (where it prevails so abundantly, as is evidenced by earthquakes and volcanic action), to decompose the infectious molecules of exotic diseases and prevent their development. M. De Fonvielle, in a chapter termed "Lightning and the Cholera," in his work on *Thunder and Lightning*, seems to have had an adumbration of Dr. Logan's truth, when he says: "But we must observe that the absence of ozone in the air appears to be connected with the appearance of cholera, as if the active element kept a vigilant guard over the salubrity of the atmosphere and disappeared when it ceased to exist. In fact, it does not seem illogical to suppose that electrified oxygen destroys morbid germs, those floating nothings which carry death with them. What more powerful disinfectant could we have than the gas which turns the ozone test-paper blue? What chlorinated fumigation could, like that produced by thunder, spread over an entire country?"

But after having resolved the issue respecting the exemption, the author is confronted by another, which relates to the fact of the prevalence of this electric energy, to the extent and in the manner which he assumes that it does operate. Earthquake action is generally ascribed not to electric agency, as the author has it, but to volcanic eruptions, or to the impact of gases arising from an internal molten condition of the earth, creating trembling at a distant point, or to a wave in this assumed internal molten mass. If this generally accepted theory of earthquake action be true, the cause assigned by the author for the exemption is not so clear, as no extraordinary degree of this electric force which is to decompose the infectious molecules, is then implied by the prevalence and frequency of earthquakes. The author, however, denies the truth of the internal molten condition hypothesis, or of any such agency in the

production of earthquake action. He adduces a vast mass of evidence in disproof of such a view, declares it wholly fallacious, and proclaims, with a confidence justified by the extended observations which he has made, that "earthquake action is directly caused by the actual transmission of electrical energy from point to point, covering the manifestations of the observed phenomena." The electrical disturbances in the atmosphere preceding and following the shock, the generation in the air of prodigious quantities of ozone, manifestly due to electricity, and the induction of other peculiar atmospheric states, give strength and probability to his conjecture. This theory of earthquake action the author esteems as original with him, which it may well be, though it is not novel, the same theory in this regard having been propounded in the following terms in the *National Quarterly Review* for June, 1874: "Numberless facts show, in addition, that a part of the electricity received from the sun penetrates the crust of the earth, and is there propagated from the equator or point of reception towards either pole. This constitutes the lower current which we before assumed. *Some portion of the electricity thus transmitted from equator to pole is doubtless dissipated in the transit by pressing through geological strata of varied molecular composition. Earthquakes, volcanoes, and other manifestations of the intense interior heat of the globe are readily explicable on this conjecture, obtaining, as they do, just where our theory places the regions of the undercurrent's maximum intensity.*"

In order to give support to his theory respecting the cause of the exemption, it became necessary with Dr. Logan to furnish adequate proof, that the electricity assigned as the cause, prevailed in amount and intensity to a degree proportionate to the assumed effect. The earthquakes he ascribed to the same cause; and it would follow, that if the electric energy were competent to the production of these phenomena, the amount of such force should, *ex hypothesi*, be likewise adequate to account for the exemption. With this object, he develops his views respecting earthquakes; and it is curious to note the coincidence of his conclusions with those contained in the extract above, quoted to show how, in a measure, the author had been anticipated. It is an earnest of the validity of the theory, that the independent researches of two persons, should have conducted them each to the same end. The superabundance of the electricity in the earth constitutes, with both, the solution.

Our author maintains that an interruption of the "energetic equilibrium" of the region of the Pacific Coast, occurs through the disparity subsisting between this supercharged electrical condition of the earth, and a proportionally small amount of electricity obtaining in the atmosphere; and that "earthquakes with all their accom-

panying horrors result from Nature's efforts to restore that equilibrium." With respect to the mode of generation, or rather manner of storage of this force in the earth, Dr. Logan affirms that it is generated by the Andes arresting the rain clouds brought by the prevailing winds, and robbing them of their moisture; and that "the electricity which those clouds have collected by heat and friction in their passage, is evolved by the change of water from a vaporous to a liquid form, and discharged into the earth."

These phenomena of the "energetic equilibrium" of electricity, of its disturbance and its establishment, are made so manifest by the author's exposition of them, that they may well be regarded now as established physical facts. But we are of the opinion that his theory of their causation is too restricted. His theory is a bold one, anyhow; and he may have been led to restrict it as much as was possible, consistently with its integrity, in order not to repel belief in it. He may have thought that the principles enunciated were sufficiently startling, without investing them with proportions, of the necessity of which he himself was not yet fully assured. There are several factors, of the greatest importance, to which he has given no place; and the causes of his "energetic equilibrium" are unquestionably more far-reaching, and play their part on a more extended scale than he has seen necessary to show them. The sources of forces of such power of effect and grandeur of display, should be traced to a development farther away than the pent-up area to which he has restricted them. A singular feature of the book, is that while the configuration of the land is rightly given its place as a factor in the problem, its influence is confined exclusively to its effect upon the forces at work in the atmosphere. Those in operation in the earth itself, are left neglected by the author, so far as any effect produced upon them by the contour of the land is concerned. When he missed this consideration, he passed by unnoticed, perhaps the grandest vista of speculation which science shall ever open up, in that region, to the student of Nature. He, in our opinion, has given undue prominence to the agency of rainfalls.

As "the author's record teems with collected facts relating to the subjects herein treated, all of which he hopes to put in a more systematic shape in a special treatise," it may be well to formulate into a merely tentative synthesis, both the latest kindred conjectures which preceded the publication of his work, and the obvious corollaries of his own and of those speculations; so that one so competent to the task of its refutation or confirmation, by reason of his rare philosophical acumen and conjectural sagacity, and of his possession of such a unique fund of observations, may have the benefit, in his future inquiries, of a rough

scheme of speculation, in much the same manner that the civil engineer is aided, at times, by the rude draft of an uncultured pioneer. The facts and isolated empirical laws are plenty in this department of knowledge, and seemingly are ready, at a touch, to crystallize into a general law co-ordinating them all. The necessary data are so numerous that further accumulation of them, unless accompanied by efforts to connect them by some tie, and to deduce the laws of their operation, threaten only to complicate further investigation. In this opinion, the Astronomer Royal of England fully concurs. In his report, for 1867, to the Greenwich Board of Visitors, he, speaking of the increase of meteorological observations, remarks: "Whether the effect of this will be that millions of useless observations will be added to the millions that already exist, or whether something may be expected to result which will lead to a meteorological theory, I cannot hazard a conjecture." Meteorologists and scientists generally at this day, except when animated by irreligious motives, seem to fancy it grossly improper for them to enunciate or even to hold an hypothesis, unless it covers so satisfactorily all of its ground, and so obviates all difficulties as to give them a full and abiding conviction of its truth. Holding an hypothesis provisionally seems never to enter into their thoughts. Tentative conjectures are never dreamed of in their philosophy. They make ample amends, however, for this diffidence when confusion to religion is their goal.

In this tentative synthesis which we shall essay, to disclose to the reader the late attempts which have been made to impart something like coherency to "the millions of useless observations that already exist," every explanation which shall be given will be shown to be consonant with those causes only which have been long suspected of an agency in the production of the results under consideration. If the plan here foreshadowed, which we fancy is deducible from the conception of an "energetic equilibrium," be confirmed or approved by such high scientific authority as the author of *The Physics of the Infectious Diseases*, it will undoubtedly be, then, generally admitted as an established physical theory. He will be able either to refute it wholly, confirm it in part, or else establish it on a basis positive and scientific. If the last, the accession to the fund of meteorological knowledge will be such as to place the science among the order of deductive sciences. A still cruder scheme, yet similarly extensive, has before been propounded, but naturally met not with sanction or refutation from scientific authority, because it stood in need of just such a man as our author to determine its falsity or its truth.

The principal impediment to the advancement of knowledge in this department of inquiry, has been the gross conception, so long

and generally entertained, that earthquake and volcanic action is due to the direct agency of fire. It appears so manifest that that is the cause, that no one has ever thought until very lately of questioning it, or of attempting to find if another hypothesis would establish a point of divergence from the line of the many obstacles which beset further investigation, and open up thereby a path in which science might progress, instead of remaining at a standstill, which it here has so long done. This seemingly so patent an explanation held sway, not only because it was apparently so obvious, but because it received such strong countenance from the Nebular Hypothesis of Laplace. Dr. Logan, however, has shown its incompetency, and pretty conclusively established the fact that even the requirements of Laplace's hypothesis will not avail to save it from signal explosion. A like reason with that first mentioned obtains to continue the assumption that we receive light and heat directly from the sun, despite the many outrageous violations of known laws of thermal transmission which that assumption involves. The fact is so obvious. Brother Jasper's cosmogony finds support equally strong in the same evidence of the senses. The cognate theory of De Beaumont, which attributes the rise of mountain ranges to the secular refrigeration of the assumed fluid and incandescent mass of the earth; and similarly, the theory of that eminent scientific authority, Lyell, referring the elevation of these mountains to the long-continued action of volcanic fires generated upon a like principle, are not only unsatisfactory, but have several important facts negating them, and give an earnest of their invalidity in their failure to throw such light upon collateral phenomena, as is ever to be expected from a theory which is true. In the stead of all the hypotheses of a fluid nucleus, or of refrigeration, the "energetic equilibrium" theory deserves to be substituted, if only because its mere suggestion, as a cause, has opened the way to the elucidation of many puzzling, recondite problems; among them, the direction and declination of the magnetic needle, and the influence of the sun upon the distribution of terrestrial magnetism.

A glance at the map of America will suffice to show that the contour of that continent must have great influence upon the distribution of the electrical force. This, viewed in relation to its effects, is the most important feature of all the features of the New World, and fraught with mysteries which can be solved, perhaps, only when this configuration enters as the leading element into the investigation. On the one side of the continent the two great divisions, North and South America, are seen to be connected by the Isthmus of Panama. The Pacific Coast is observed to be a continuous line, unbroken by water, and running in a general di-

rection north and south. Few or no large rivers here abound to break the continuity of the coast. Great chains of mountains, the Andes and the Rocky Mountains, stretch along almost the whole continent, and observe a direction more nearly north and south even than the coast. The rainfall is here greatly less than in other parts. Earthquakes and volcanoes also here obtain.

Looking, however, at the eastern portion of the continent, we see that the phenomena presented are entirely different. The direction of the Atlantic Coast is greatly varied. The line of the coast is broken by arms of the sea, and opened by inlets of the ocean to a great extent; by deep bays, by the Gulf of Mexico, and by mouths of great rivers. It presents no such general trend north and south, which we see on the western coast; the coast frequently varying as much to the east and west as it does to the north and south. We find all the great rivers on the Atlantic Coast; but what most characterizes it, is the amount of its rainfall. Its dissimilarity to the Pacific Coast is further enhanced by the few mountains, and those of inconsiderable height, the absence, almost complete, of earthquakes and of volcanoes, and the prevalence, in the greatest degree, of those electrical manifestations which are displayed in the atmosphere. The principal electrical disturbances are those in the atmosphere, presenting a contrast to the Pacific Coast, where the main disturbances are those of the earth.

On a theory of "energetic equilibrium," more extended than that of Dr. Logan, it is easy to see the varied effect which this distribution of land and water has upon the meteorology of the continent. It is manifest that the coast on the Pacific side, by reason of its extent, continuity, and direction, is peculiarly favorable to the propagation of the electric currents of the earth's crust. It is well known by the agency in which the sun has been so often detected of creating magnetic disturbances upon our planet, that electrical energy is derived from that luminary, and it has been definitely established, by experiment and by observation, that the electric currents in the earth normally determine in the directions north and south. Even if the solar force were distributed impartially to these currents all over the earth, it is clear that that force would be immeasurably more effective and intense, even if not more abundant, along an unbroken stretch of land which followed some meridian line. Nowhere in the world do such favorable conditions for the propagation of the electricity in the earth's crust obtain as on the Pacific Coast. On the eastern coast of America, as we have seen, and in other parts of the world, such a propitious line is not to be seen. Propagation there is broken by gulfs, bays, and seas, and the direction varies much to the east and to the west.

There is little marvel, then, that Dr. Logan, for reasons indepen-

dent of these, conjectured that the Pacific Coast of America was the region of the earth current's maximum degree of intensity. Nature's efforts to restore her "energetic equilibrium" are quite explicable when the fund of force lying beneath is so abundant. Other meteorological results are alike obvious. Confined and restricted as is the energy in the earth to a line,—as it is constrained to be by reason of the Isthmus of Panama being the medium of its propagation north and south,—it clearly predominates, generally, in intensity over the electricity in the atmosphere; because of its quantity, and likewise because the various meteorological changes which are ever recurring in the atmosphere dissipate, in a measure, the force above, effect a wider distribution there, and consequently lessen the intensity and amount of the electricity there prevailing.

If these deductions be just, the origin of such immense chains of mountains; their general direction north and south; the prevalence of earthquakes and of volcanoes; the minimum rainfall; and the rare and meagre displays of electrical disturbances in the atmosphere, as compared with those on the east of the continent; are all readily and easily explicable, when it is assumed that a current of electricity of such exceptional intensity prevails, and has ever prevailed, below. The problem of the origin of the mountain chains is easily solved by the supposition that in the age of their production,—owing perhaps to still better land distribution than at present,—the intensity of the lower current was greater, or that its preponderance over the electricity in the atmosphere was more pronounced. The effort by Nature to restore the vastly disturbed "energetic equilibrium," by giving vent to her Titanic force from the crust below to the atmosphere above, has resulted in the piling up of those monuments to her power. Strong countenance is given to this conjecture by the circumstance that the line of the assumed eruption is observed to be in the natural direction of the propagation of the force conceived to be the cause, viz., north and south. The earthquakes now prevalent are produced by similar but feebler shocks. These earthquakes generally prevail in the wintertime of their region. The reason is obvious. In the summertime the amount of electricity in the earth and the amount in the atmosphere are equal, and each neutralizes the power of the other. The sun's contribution of his force is shared equally by the atmosphere and by the earth; as the region given is either at or near that luminary's point of electrical contact with our sphere. The energetic equilibrium, therefore, is not impaired. Should, however, with these reasons only in view, the current below preponderate, the residuum of force necessary for the atmospheric current to hold its own is doubtless supplied by the generation of

electricity through the process of evaporation, so generally and abundantly carried on at that season.

In the winter of the region, however, the "energetic equilibrium" is disturbed. The earth current preponderates by reason of several circumstances. It preponderates in *proportion*, because of the lessened supply received by the atmosphere. The point of electrical contact with the sun is removed by the change of season, and consequently the accession of electricity is greatly decreased. In addition thereto, together with the departure of the sun, comes diminished heat, one of the conditions of evaporation, and consequently a lessened contribution of electricity by that process to the upper current. The electricity of the crust of the earth preponderates in *quantity* also, by reason of the fact that it is ever being supplied from that place along its line of propagation north and south, where exists, at the time or the season, the earth's point of electrical contact with the sun. It has the capacity of determining its force along an effective line to any region where either a preponderance, or opportunity for establishing the same, exists, owing to the weakness of the force prevailing in the atmosphere. The like capacity does not exist with the electricity above. There it is more diffusive. The consequence of this distribution of electric energy in winter is earthquake action, the effort of nature to restore the equilibrium.

Volcanoes are ascribable to the same causes operating under slightly different conditions. They are due to the same outrush from below upwards, of the same preponderant energy, attracted by a comparatively negative electrical condition of the atmosphere. The probability of such being the cause is much strengthened by the circumstance that the column of vapor, smoke, and gases which is emitted upon every volcanic commotion of any extent, and which hangs like a canopy of darkness over the crater, always evolves shock, and continual flashes of lightning and the rolling of thunder. "Electric radiations always struggle there," says M. de Fouvillie, "with the reddish glare from the base of the infernal column. In fact, electricity never neglects an opportunity of mixing itself up with everything, and whenever the lava causes its dull rumbling to be heard, we may feel assured that thunder will join its voice in the sinister concert." A circumstance to be noted in confirmation of the theory of electrical origin, is that this play of the lightning and thunder in the volcanic canopy, occurs when the atmosphere around is placid and serene, plainly evidencing that the atmosphere contributes none of the force, but that it all is evoked from the depths of the earth.

An apparent objection to the theory of electrical action in the production of these phenomena, is the harmony of the igneous

character of volcanoes with the hypothesis of a molten condition of the earth, and the seeming incongruity therewith of the theory of "energetic equilibrium." It is strange that Dr. Logan has not noted and obviated this possible objection; for, this characteristic of volcanic action is what mainly prompts scientists to adhere so tenaciously to the old hypothesis. Perhaps the restricted character of our author's theory left this phenomenon still inexplicable. As may be surmised from an extract above, the igneous character of volcanoes is susceptible of clear explanation. Upon a like principle with that which generates heat by the passage of electricity through the medium of the junction of antimony and bismuth, the current of electricity in the earth's crust evolves the igneous matter in question by its passage along "geological strata of varied molecular composition." This is an explanation in the fullest consonance with known physical principles, and obviates all fancied necessity for a theory of a fluid nucleus. A few veins of an igneous character, of limited extent and breadth, are wholly competent to explain this phenomenon, and we need seek no further than the stratification of the earth, and a preponderance of the earth's energy, for the reason of its recurrence. Observation has shown that certain metalliferous lodes exert an influence upon the electricity of the atmosphere and upon the direction of lightning. It is clear that the volcanic eruption depends mainly upon the stratification leading into the crater; and that a mere preponderance of the lower current is needed to evoke a commotion. To the same cause is doubtless to be attributed hot springs and similar phenomena.

The truth of these inductions is confirmed by the fact that the same features do not obtain on the eastern coast of America. Like conditions are wanting. The land there being broken, there exists no such favorable line of propagation for the electricity in the earth's crust. In that region, it is the atmospheric force which preponderates in intensity. The latter, though possibly not of any increased amount, is obviously of increased proportion. For this reason, earthquakes and volcanoes do not there prevail; as for a reverse reason, electrical manifestations do not generally prevail in the atmosphere along the Pacific Coast. The determination of the electric force, on the western side of the continent, is from the earth to the atmosphere; and on the eastern side, it is from the atmosphere to the earth. To this difference is due the difference in the meteorological phenomena of the two coasts. This explains the frequent occurrence of the lightning and thunder observable on the east, and the rarity of the same on the west. The few mountains which exist on the Atlantic side of the continent were doubtless produced when the distribution of land was other than

that which it is now; when, perhaps, the West Indies formed part of the continent, and when the earth current was therefore enabled to prevail to a degree which gave it such a preponderance over the force above, as was adequate to the production of those physical features.

On contemplating these phenomena of preponderant intensity of either current, and of the directions in which the electrical force courses, there is an important relation which obtrudes itself upon the attention of the observer. It is, that the amount of rainfall seems everywhere to be dependent upon the passage of the electric fluid from above to below. Where the atmosphere is surcharged with electricity, the rain falls. Where, however, the earth's crust is surcharged, and where, consequently, the force is withdrawn from below upwards, it is incompatible with any precipitation of rain. Where, as on the Atlantic Coast, the electricity determines generally from the atmosphere to the earth, the rainfalls are most frequent and abundant, and heaven seems to open its floodgates. As a fact, little evidence in confirmation is needed. The mammoth rivers attest the magnitude of the moisture precipitated, and meteorological reports and maps vouch for it, that this region, Eastern America, is deluged with singularly copious discharges of rain. A glance at these reports and maps equally prove that the fall in each section of this region, is directly proportionate to the amount of the electrical surcharge of the atmosphere.

On the Pacific Coast, however, where the earth's electricity generally preponderates, and where the flow is from the earth to the atmosphere through the attempt to restore the "energetic equilibrium," the rainfall is least or none at all. In some parts of Bolivia, and through the greater part of Peru, rain never falls; and this is the region where earthquakes most prevail, and where, of course, the electricity determines in a contrary direction to that required for the precipitation of rain. In other parts of the Pacific Coast, where the intensity of the lower current occasionally abates, and allows a temporary ascendancy to the atmospheric force, there is some little rain. The region of the minimum rainfall, and of no rainfall, is coextensive with the region of earthquakes; and leaving out of view the shower which generally succeeds immediately to a shock, the amount precipitated is in an inverse ratio with the intensity and frequency of the shocks. This shower, which generally falls in the region immediately after a shock, is quite explicable. Nature, in the act of restoring the "energetic equilibrium," parts with more of the force from the earth than is necessary to attain her object, and a return supply determining back again occurs to retrieve the overleapt effort; thereby occasioning the shower, by the coursing of the electricity in the downward direction. Dr. Logan says what

would be expected on this hypothesis that the shower is due to the transfer of the preponderance of electricity from the earth to the atmosphere. "It is not only a curious but likewise an instructive fact, that if the rainfall" (the one in question) "be copious or prolonged, the danger of immediately recurring shocks is over." The reason is plain; to have the shower at all, requires the preponderance of the atmospheric electricity, whereas the preponderance of the earth's electricity is the *sine qua non* of an earthquake. A similar effect is produced in a reverse operation. The Aurora Borealis in discharging its electricity into the earth, deflects the magnetic needle to the west in conformity with Ampere's law, which deflects a needle to the left when there is a current of electricity above it. After the display of this Aurora, the needle not only returns to its normal direction, but experiences a slight deflection to the east. This is doubtless due to a like reason with that which was shown to have produced the shower succeeding the earthquake. There has been a greater discharge than was necessary to establish an equilibrium, and hence the needle deflects to the east in proportion to the degree of preponderance given to the earth's current by the surplus quantity.

Numberless circumstances give support to the theory that the notion that only aqueous vapor and a certain degree of cold are sufficient to precipitate a rain, is a fallacy. All of the causes assigned by meteorologists for condensation: (1) the cooling of clouds through the effect of radiation from them; (2) the mingling of vapors at different temperatures, effected by the agency of the winds; (3) the rising of vapors towards colder strata of the atmosphere; (4) the increase of atmospheric pressure or density; (5) the accumulation and impinging of masses of vapor against some obstacle; and (6) the transfer from the equator towards the poles of large masses of moisture-laden air by means of the upper southwest, or counter trade winds, are incompetent to explain many of the phenomena in question. Meteorologists are fain compelled to express their surprise at the multitude of facts which they esteem anomalous, and which refuse to conform to any of the above-stated causes. Proctor says: "The actual process of the production of rain has not yet been completely explained. We are, in fact, doubtful as to the true nature of clouds, fogs and mist." It is a fact which observation will fully establish, that electricity determining in a downward course to the earth is a *conditio sine qua non* of condensation. That cold, as a condition or cause, is given an undue prominence, and that it alone cannot occasion precipitation, is attested by not only the instances which it has failed to explain, but by several experiments. Fournet, for instance, notes the frequent occurrence of mists formed of particles of liquid matter, suspended in an atmos-

phere whose temperature was 10° , or even 15° C. below zero. Priestley, however, has found that when an electric spark passes through moist air, its volume diminishes. Considering the numberless facts which so conclusively negative it, it is surprising that the hypothesis that cold is the efficient factor of condensation has so long held place in science. The lowering and rain-retentive clouds observable in cold weather and in cold regions; the singularly copious discharges of rain witnessed in those tropical regions far removed from the line where the intensity of the earth's force is at its maximum, and contiguous to a district where the atmospheric force is not only strongest, but also not counterbalanced by any amount of force below; and the circumstances of the region of minimum, or of no, rainfall being coextensive with the regions of the preponderance of the electricity in the earth, and of the region of maximum rainfall being coextensive with the regions where the atmospheric electricity is in the ascendant, give ample warrant for the truth of the induction that the cause, or essential condition, of the condensation is the determination of electricity downwards through the atmosphere. The fact, well known, that when clouds impinge upon a mountain the result is the precipitation of rain, lends countenance to the theory. For the mountains supply the condition alleged as essential, by acting as conductors of electricity to the earth. The flow, thus provoked, induces the fall of rain. The clouds are observed not merely to impinge upon the mountain, but to be attracted toward it. No one who has observed a cloud drag a mountain side, and grow in bulk, will question this feature. The fact that forests are provocative of rain is explicable upon this theory alone. Rain clouds, perhaps, pass over a region of country without any downfall, save when they impinge upon a forest, when they discharge. The condition of condensation—the flow downwards of electricity—is wanting everywhere but at the forest, owing to a general or temporary equilibrium of the forces above and below; or to a preponderance of the earth's force; or to a preponderance of the atmospheric force too slight to effect a discharge to the earth, without a good conductor or a peculiarly negative condition below. A forest fulfils these conditions. It acts in the character of a bristling conductor, and in the character of a negatively charged body. Its rôle as a conductor is apparent. But it is in a negative state, charged with little or no electricity, owing to evaporation there not progressing as elsewhere, through the soil receiving no heat from the sun, and but little from the surrounding air. There is, therefore, no electricity generated in the forest by evaporation; and a negative condition, compared with surrounding sites, is given to the forest, which serves as an attraction to the electricity in the clouds. The response thereto

by the latter occasions the condensation. If to this explanation, the hypothesis of the mechanical equivalent of heat be opposed, it may be answered that the mere relation of constancy in which the mechanical force has been estimated to stand toward the heat involved, does not conclusively or demonstratively establish an *equivalence*, nor preclude the possibility of a residual quantity of heat unrepresented by mechanical force, and for which that amount of metamorphosed electricity will account. The multitude of impediments in the way of progress in meteorological science, will never be removed, while meteorologists allow this hypothesis of *equivalence* to stand, preventing the many interesting and important explanations which a theory would furnish, based upon the reciprocal conversion of heat and electricity in the processes of congelation, liquefaction, condensation, and vaporization.

A curious coincidence, which a mere glance at a meteorological map of America will suffice to establish as an unquestionable physical fact, opens up a wide vista of speculation. A reflection which must often recur when considering the preponderant intensity of the earth's current on the Pacific Coast, is that there should exist also a region where the atmospheric force generally prevails, and likewise a region where the force in the earth and the force in the atmosphere neutralize each other's influence, and realize Dr. Logan's "energetic equilibrium." The coincidence referred to is, that amid all its windings in and along the east of North and South America, the agonic line, or line of no variation of the magnetic needle, is almost exactly parallel with the trend of the Pacific coast where prevails the maximum intensity of the current in the earth's crust. This agonic line is unquestionably the region of "energetic equilibrium." In America, this line of no variation passes along the eastern coast of South America in the Atlantic Ocean; enters Brazil; cuts through a small section of that country; enters the Atlantic again; passes east of the West Indies; enters North America in North Carolina; passes through Virginia and Pennsylvania; cuts through Lake Erie; thence on traverses the west of Hudson's Bay; and through, presumably, the North Pole; describing a curve almost parallel with the chain of mountains on the Pacific Coast. It is but little strain on the imagination to conjecture that this line is the magnetic meridian where the upper and lower forces neutralize each other's influence, and thereby establish what Dr. Logan would call the "energetic equilibrium." If so, it is obvious that but a small amount of reflection and observation will unfold to science the mystery of the variations and the direction of the magnetic needle.

Ampère has found by experiment several curious laws respecting

magnetic electricity. As these laws are susceptible of a succinct description they will be given. He found that when a suspended needle was placed below a current of electricity, the needle was deflected to the left, at a right angle with the current; that when the needle was placed above the current, it was deflected to the right, at a right angle; that when the needle was placed at the one side of a current, the needle experienced a dip at one end, and a dip at the other end when the current was on the opposite side; and that when the needle was placed in the centre between four currents, respectively above, below, and to each side, the needle took the direction in which the electrical currents flowed. If similar laws obtain to govern the magnetic needle, it is plain that, proportionate to the preponderance of either the earth's force or the atmospheric force, will be the corresponding deflection of the needle. A fair crucial test of the assumption throughout this article, and of the similar assumption by Dr. Logan, that the region of the Pacific Coast is where the earth current is strongest and preponderates most over that above, is to observe if the deflection of the magnetic needle is greatest, at that region, in the direction of the right or east; as would be required of a needle under Ampère's laws, where it had a preponderant current below it. This is found to be so; and the nearer, from the agonic line, the needle is placed to the Pacific Coast, the greater is the deflection to the east; while the further away the needle is taken, on the east, from the agonic line, the greater is the declination west; showing the ascendancy, in the extreme east of America and in the Atlantic, of the atmospheric current. At the line itself there is, of course, no variation; the earth current of the Pacific Coast and the atmospheric current over the Atlantic there neutralizing each other's influence. "All places on the east of the agonic line have the variation of the needle west, all places on the west of this line have the variation of the needle east; and, as a rule, the farther a place lies from this line, the greater is the variation." At Portland, Maine, the variation is $11^{\circ} 28.3'$ west; at the Isle of Shoals, New Hampshire, $10^{\circ} 3.4'$ west; Burlington, Vermont, $9^{\circ} 22.0'$ west; New London, Conn., $7^{\circ} 29.5'$ west; New York, $6^{\circ} 25.3'$ west; Newark, N. J., $5^{\circ} 32.7'$ west; Bordentown, N. J., $4^{\circ} 22.5'$ west; Philadelphia, $3^{\circ} 50.7'$ west; Pittsburgh, $0^{\circ} 33.1'$ west; Columbus, Ohio, $2^{\circ} 29.3'$ east; Cincinnati, Ohio, $4^{\circ} 4.0'$ east; South Hanover, Indiana, $4^{\circ} 35.0'$ east; Alton, Illinois, $7^{\circ} 45.0'$ east; St. Louis, Missouri, $8^{\circ} 49.0'$ east; Iowa, $9^{\circ} 4.0'$ east; San Francisco, California, $15^{\circ} 26.9'$ east.

All through the United States, and in fact in every place where meteorological observations are made, it is observable that the variations correspond most faithfully with the theory of "energetic

equilibrium." At the agonic line, this equilibrium is established; and it is astonishing how perfect has been the impress, left in the curvature of this line, by one of the factors of the equilibrium, the earth current on the western coast. At this agonic line, the atmospheric force and the earth force are equal in intensity, and hence there is no variation or deflection, as declination or variation can occur only when either current is preponderant. To the east of the line, the atmospheric electricity is of the greater intensity, and the declination is to the west, as it should be with a needle when the upper current is the stronger. To the west of the agonic line, in proportion as advance is made toward the continuous unbroken line of the Pacific Coast, which allows of free propagation in the earth, the declination is to the east.

During the day, owing to the surcharge of the atmospheric current by the sun, there is another variation to the west, as would be anticipated upon the hypothesis. As the intensity of the sun's force increases, the greater becomes the amplitude of this diurnal oscillation; and as such influence abates after noon, the variation diminishes until it regains its normal declination. On the agonic line, too, this variation is observable as much as elsewhere; because, though there be no secular declination there, a temporary preponderance is given each day to the current above, by the atmosphere being the medium of the contribution of solar force to the earth. The measure of the temperature, each day, *cæteris paribus*, is the measure of the daily variation. It seems, however, that given a common degree of temperature, in those districts where the condition of evaporation, moisture, prevails, the range of the variation is greater.

During the night, or, rather early in the morning, the normal direction prevails, on the agonic line; and the mean degree of the declination for any given quarter prevails at other places. After sunrise, about 8 o'clock A.M., the needle commences to vary to the west. The daily variation is always to the west in the northern hemisphere. This variation to the west increases during the day until about 2 o'clock, when it reaches its maximum westerly declination. It then begins to decline, until after midnight, when it returns to its regular direction or declination. It should be remarked, that this variation west is not always to be considered as west of north. Where the secular declination is east, the diurnal variation, though west in direction of progress, may be still east of north; the variation, by day, often not being sufficient to equal the secular declination east. That this daily variation is due to a diurnal disturbance of the "energetic equilibrium," by the preponderance of the electricity of the atmosphere over that of the earth, is evidenced by the fact that the range of such variation is greater in summer than in winter.

In summer, a region is nearer the earth's point of electrical contact with the sun, and the greater, therefore, is the contribution of electricity. The further such point is removed, and the lower the temperature of the weather, the less is the daily range. The amount of the daily variation is something like from 8' to 10' from September to April; but from April to September it is from 13' to 15'. On some peculiarly warm days in summer it rises to 25'; and on exceptionally cold days in winter, it does not exceed 5' to 6'. Electrical disturbances in the atmosphere increase the range.

In the southern hemisphere the same daily variation is observed, similarly varying with the hours of the day, with the temperature of the weather, and with the seasons. But there is a difference which we should, *a priori*, expect. In the distribution of the sun's electricity from the equator to the poles, the electricity runs in the contrary direction to that which it does at the north. The daily variation, instead of being invariably to the west, is invariably to the east of the current's direction of progress; as it is always to the left, according to Ampère's laws, where the upper current preponderates. Auroras and other magnetic disturbances increase the range to the east, as in the northern hemisphere they increase it to the west.

It is most surprising how clearly the hypothesis of an "energetic equilibrium" elucidates all the phenomena of variation and declination, and even of the dip, down even to the minutest details. However varied these phenomena may be, throughout the world, this hypothesis gives them all a full, quantitative and qualitative explanation. With respect to the direction of the needle, however, although it is highly probable that that feature is due to the balancing influences of the atmospheric and earth currents, there is one fact which displays a disagreement. The needle in the southern hemisphere, instead of taking the direction of the currents to which it is undoubtedly amenable in its variations, pursues the opposite direction. This, however, should not, when all the phenomena of variation hitherto deemed inexplicable are fully accounted for, be allowed to influence a scientist to discard the theory. For, if carefully studied, it may lead to the discovery of some new, surprising, and exceptional law, which leaves the theory, in general, operative, in a way similar to the law of the weight of cold water at 39° F.

The theory of an "energetic equilibrium" has been further extended to cover the phenomena of solar spots, and the distribution of the sun's heat and light. But, the compass of this article will not allow the further development of these views.

CATHEDRAL CHAPTERS AS ADAPTED TO THE
UNITED STATES.

Boux, de Capitulis. Parisiis, 1862.

Acta et Decreta Sacrorum Conciliorum Recentiorum. Collectio Lacensis,
tom. iii. Friburgi Brisgoviae, 1875.

WHAT are chapters in the canonical sense of the term, or as prescribed by the common law of the Church? In what manner can they be modified so as to become adaptable to missionary countries? Where, or in what countries have they been so modified and adapted? Can these modified chapters, as they exist in England, Ireland, and Holland, be introduced into the United States? These are some of the chief questions we purpose answering in the present article. Before proceeding to discuss our subject, we shall premise a few words concerning the origin and history of chapters. Bishops, even when the Apostles were as yet living, associated with themselves ecclesiastics to assist them in their sacred duties. The entire clergy of each bishop, in the first three centuries of the Church, according to Nardi,¹ consisted almost everywhere of twelve priests and seven deacons, in imitation of the twelve Apostles and the seven deacons mentioned in the "Acts of the Apostles." To these were added, when necessary, other inferior ministers; that is, so far as the Latin Church is concerned, subdeacons, acolytes, exorcists, lectors, ostiaries, and chanters. These were called the inferior clergy, in contradistinction to the twelve priests and seven deacons, who formed the superior or higher clergy of each diocese, and who alone were entitled to be consulted by the bishop in the government of the diocese, and to administer it when vacant. Whenever occasion required, one of these priests or deacons was sent to minister to the faithful in the country or out of the Episcopal city, who would return to the bishop as soon as his mission or duty had been accomplished.² This continued down to the fourth century, when, owing to the increase in the number of the faithful, bishops appointed, over and above the twelve priests and seven deacons to which each diocese had been hitherto restricted, other priests and deacons, to be resident pastors or ministers in country places. But these country priests and deacons were inferior in many respects to those who remained about the bishop. For the latter, as we have seen, were of Apostolic institution, made up the council or senate of the bishop, and to-

¹ Ap. Bouix de Cap., p. 3.

² Phillips, K. R., vol. vi., p. 27.

gether with him governed the diocese, that is, the clergy as well as the laity, and finally, during the absence, inability, or at the death of the bishop, exercised ordinary jurisdiction.

These Episcopal councils or senates, as instituted in the time of the Apostles, have existed uninterruptedly down to our own day, and will, as Nardi says, exist to the end of time, bearing as they do the seal of Apostolicity so dear to the Church. Formerly they were called *Presbyteria*, *Coronæ*, *Consessus*, *Concilia*, and *Senatus*; now they are called cathedral chapters. That the present cathedral chapters are substantially the same as the *presbyteria* of old seems certain. In fact it is universally conceded that there *always* existed bodies of ecclesiastics who aided the bishop in the government of the diocese, and administered it when vacant. It is also known to every one that at present, wherever the common law of the Church obtains, a body of ecclesiastics called the cathedral chapter is attached to every cathedral, and that this body or chapter is by the common law of the Church the council of the bishop, and at his death governs the diocese with ordinary jurisdiction. On the other hand, it is historically certain that no break ever occurred in the existence of these presbyteries or chapters. Hence the present cathedral chapters succeeded directly and without any interruption of time to the *presbyteria* of old, are substantially the same, and consequently of Apostolic institution.¹

The régime or organization, however, of these presbyteries or chapters has not always been the same. St. Augustine, in the beginning of the fifth century, obliged the ecclesiastics attached to his Church to lead a community life. Gradually this discipline was introduced almost everywhere. It was greatly perfected by Chrodogang, Bishop of Metz († 765), who drew up special rules for the government of this community life. This discipline did not remain confined to the clergy of the cathedral, but extended itself to ecclesiastics in general, and became obligatory throughout the entire Church.² All ecclesiastics, therefore, whether attached to the cathedral and forming the cathedral chapter, or ministering in the other churches of the diocese, were obliged to live in community, except, of course, where their number was too small. However, even when this discipline prevailed universally, the distinction between the presbytery or the cathedral chapter and the rest of the clergy remained unchanged, the former only being the *ex officio* councillors of the Bishop.³

Under the heading of the present article we shall discuss: 1. What are chapters? 2. By whom they can be established. 3. By whom the dignitaries and canons are appointed. 4. The duties

¹ Bouix, loc., p. 7.

² Phillips, *Lehrb.*, p. 307.

³ Walter, *Lehrb.*, § 135.

of canons. 5. The rights of chapters. What are chapters in the canonical sense of the term? By chapters in general we here mean corporations composed of ecclesiastics placed under a prelate, and forming one body, set apart or designated by the Church for the public worship or divine service. Chapters are divided chiefly into cathedral and collegiate. The former are those which are established in cathedrals in order to assist and supply the bishop in the government of the diocese.¹ This definition expresses the chief end for which chapters are instituted. For they were not established precisely for the purpose of saying the divine office or breviary in choir and the like, but to aid the bishop in the government of his diocese, and take his place during the vacancy of the See. Thus the fifteenth article of the Concordat made by Pope Pius IX. with Spain in 1851, says: "Cathedral chapters constitute the senate and council of archbishops and bishops."² Collegiate chapters on the other hand are chapters erected in churches which are not cathedrals; they are chapters only in a broad sense of the term, cathedral chapters only being chapters in the proper sense of the word. The churches having collegiate chapters (*collegiata capitula*) annexed are called collegiate churches (*ecclesie collegiate*). Canons of collegiate chapters have no Episcopal jurisdiction, even during the vacancy of the See, nor are they by law the bishop's councillors; they are merely attached to certain churches, in Catholic countries where priests abound, for the greater splendor of divine service.³ Collegiate churches are of higher grade than other simple parochial churches, and rank immediately after the cathedral. We shall now say a few words concerning chapters as corporations. Chapters (when we simply use the word "chapters," we mean cathedral chapters) may be viewed under a twofold aspect: 1st. As constituting the senate of the diocese and the council *ex officio* of the bishop in the government of the diocese; of the chapter, considered in this light, the bishop is the head and noblest member. 2d. As corporations or moral bodies, distinct from the bishop, and vested with rights and duties of their own. Of the chapter regarded under this aspect, the bishop is not the head, nay not even a member.⁴ Hence he has no decisive vote in purely capitular matters. Moreover, the chapter (as a corporation) has its own presiding officer or head, who is usually called dean or provost. When the latter dies or is absent, the oldest canon, as a rule, becomes the head of the chapter for the time being.

Canons are divided: 1st. Into cathedral and collegiate, according as they are members of cathedral or collegiate chapters respec-

¹ Craisson, n. 2156.

³ Craisson, n. 2158.

² Bouix de Capit., p. 42.

⁴ Craiss, n. 2163, 59.

tively. 2d. Numerary and supernumerary, or rather active and honorary canons. 3d. Prebendal and simple canons, according as they are provided with prebends or not. Formerly canons were chiefly divided into secular and regular, but at present there are few if any regular canons. Of how many canons should each chapter be composed? No fixed number is assigned or given in law, the matter being left to the judgment of the Supreme Pontiff. However, no chapter can be established unless it has at least three canons, though once erected, it can continue to exist even though but one canon remain. As a matter of fact, some chapters can admit only a given number of canons, while others are not so restricted. Where the number of canons is fixed (which can be done by the Pope, or the bishop with the advice of his chapter, or also by custom) by ancient custom or the Holy See, the latter alone can increase it. Where the number is not fixed, the bishop may with the consent of the chapter increase it. The bishop may also, where the revenues are insufficient, reduce the number of canons and prebends.¹ In England each chapter consists of ten canons and a provost, who is a dignitary.²

Dignitaries and Officers of Chapters.—By a dignity was formerly meant the title of a benefice having precedence and jurisdiction annexed. We say “formerly,” for certain titles to which formerly precedence and jurisdiction were attached are at present devoid of jurisdiction; nevertheless they are still regarded as dignities, *c. g.*, the archdeaconship. At present, therefore, we mean by ecclesiastical dignitaries, those who are considered as such by statute or custom, or enjoy a prerogative of honor and precedence, even though they are destitute of jurisdiction.³ A personate is the title of a benefice having annexed precedence or a prerogative of honor without jurisdiction. Finally, by an office is understood the title of a benefice without any precedence and jurisdiction.⁴ At present therefore dignities do not practically differ from personates. Having premised these general notions, we shall now briefly describe some of the officials of chapters. Besides the head or president of the chapter, who is a dignitary, the theologian and penitentiary are among its chief officials. A theologian is to be appointed in every cathedral chapter. His office is chiefly to explain the sacred scriptures, though he may also be appointed to teach dogmatic and moral theology or even canon law.⁵ By the common law of the Church, the theologian need not necessarily be appointed by *concursus* or competitive examination, though by

¹ C. Trid., Sess. 24, C. 15, d. R.; Bouix de Cap., p. 66.

² Coll. Lac., vol. 3, p. 923.

³ Craiss., n. 2184.

⁴ Soglia, Ed. Vecchiotti, Aug. Taur., 1876, p. 325.

⁵ Lucidi, Visit, SS. L. L., vol. iii, p. 227; vol. i., p. 347.

virtue of various papal enactments, he must be appointed by *concurso* in Spain, Italy, England, etc. He is, supposing him to be a canon, not removable *ad nutum*. As a rule he should give lectures on the sacred scriptures and that in the cathedral. For just cause, however, the bishop may allow the lectures to be delivered elsewhere. In Italy he must deliver at least forty public lectures or sermons a year.¹

The penitentiary is appointed in order to hear confessions in the cathedral and to absolve from cases reserved to the bishop, for which latter purpose, however, he needs and usually receives special faculties from the bishop. He is *quasi* parish priest of the whole diocese, and has the right to hear confessions throughout the whole diocese, and that not by special commission of the bishop, but by law (*i. e.*, by the Council of Trent), and is therefore an ordinary.² The other officials of chapters, as enumerated by the Synod of Westminster, England, held in 1852, are: a secretary, treasurer, sacristan, and master of ceremonies. The secretary is to keep the minutes of the meetings of the chapter, and have the custody (with the provost) of the seal of the chapter. The treasurer has charge of the moneys belonging to the chapter. The sacristan and master of ceremonies are to prepare the church for the meetings of the chapter, keep the roll, and note down those who were absent.³

Honorary Canons.—Honorary canons are those who have merely the name and insignia or dress of canons, or also the right to occupy a stall in the choir. They have no prebend, and belong to the chapter only in a wide sense of the word. That it is lawful to appoint or create such canons is at present beyond doubt. The common opinion of canonists is that the bishop cannot create them without the consent of the chapter.⁴ In this country there are honorary canons in the city of New Orleans. Honorary canons have no vote in the chapter. Are they removable *ad nutum*? That is, can the bishop deprive them of their title and insignia without a canonical trial? The question is controverted.

Prebends (præbendæ).—By a prebend is meant the right of a canon to receive a stated income out of the revenues of a cathedral or collegiate church. Two things must be distinguished in a canonship, namely: the *canonia*, or the right to be admitted as a member of the chapter, have a stall in the choir, a vote in the chapter, and participate in various other rights of canons; and the prebend, or benefice of canons. The prebend cannot exist without the *canonia*, but the *canonia* can exist without the prebend. In fact in England there are chapters, though no prebends. Hence

¹ Craiss., n. 2212.

Coll. Lac., vol. iii., p. 949.

² Soglia, Ed. Vecchiotti, vol. i., p. 327.

⁴ Craiss., n. 2241.

in England the canons have the *canonia* or rights of canons, but no income as canons.¹ Where canons are obliged to recite the office in choir, they receive a certain daily allowance (*distributiones quotidianæ*), which they forfeit when unlawfully absent from the choir. This allowance, or these daily distributions, are made up from the third part of the revenues of the dignities and offices of the chapter.² In England the canons say merely part of the divine office in common, namely, the tierce (*tertia*), and that only once a month, and there are no daily allowances.

Power of Erecting and Appointing to Canonries and Dignities.—Cathedral chapters can be erected only by the Pope. The same holds at present of collegiate chapters. Where chapters are not restricted by the Holy See to a stated number of canonries, the bishop can, with the consent of the chapter, as we have shown above, create new canonries. By the common law of the Church as at present construed, the appointment of canons of cathedral chapters belongs jointly or simultaneously (*jus collationis simultaneæ*) to the bishop and the chapter. However, as in practice this mode of appointment is surrounded by difficulties, it has become customary in various chapters for the bishop and the chapter to make the appointment by turns or alternately, so that each in turn makes the appointment independently of the other.³ The first or highest dignity is, however, appointed by the Holy See. In England also the appointment of canons is made alternately by the bishop and the chapter. When the appointment falls to the chapter it chooses by vote three priests, from whom the bishop is free to select the new canon. The appointment of the provost in England, who is the president of the chapter and the highest dignity in it, is reserved to the Holy See.⁴

Duties of Canons.—The duties of canons regard chiefly the bishop, the divine office, the conventual mass, residence, attendance at the meetings of the chapter, and the acceptance of various offices in the chapter. We shall now briefly speak of each of these obligations. The general rule is that the canons (of cathedral chapters) are obliged to assist the bishop whenever he celebrates solemn mass or performs other pontifical functions,⁵ and that not only in the cathedral, but also in other places, provided it be not out of the Episcopal city or its suburbs. This, however, does not apply to England and Ireland, where there are no prebends, and where canons are pastors or professors, residing not near the cathedral, but in various parts of the diocese. The next duty of canons relates to

¹ Coll. Lac., vol. iii., p. 923, 956.

² Craiss., n. 2274.

³ Conc. Trid., Sess. 24, c. 12, d. R.

² Conc. Trid., Sess. 22, c. 3, d. R.

⁴ Coll. Lac., pp. 923, 949.

the meetings of the chapter. All canons having a vote in the chapter are bound to attend both the ordinary and extraordinary sessions or meetings of the chapter, provided they are properly convened. The ordinary meetings are to be held at stated times. When extraordinary meetings are to be held, special notice must be given the canons, and the time and place of meeting specified. Now, by whom are the meetings to be called? In matters referring to the government of the diocese, namely, where the bishop is obligated to act by the advice or consent of the chapter, and which are otherwise to be transacted jointly by the bishop and chapter, the latter is convened by the bishop or his vicar-general; but in other matters, that is, those relating to the chapter as such, the latter is convoked not by the bishop, but by its own head or presiding officer (usually called dean or provost), and that without leave from the bishop.¹ Both the bishop and the vicar-general have a right to compel the chapter to show them the minutes of the meetings of the chapter or a copy of them, even those relating to the chapter as such. The reason is that the bishop has the right to see that no acts or resolutions are passed contrary to law.² In England the ordinary meetings of the chapter are held once a month on days designated by the bishop; extraordinary meetings are called by the bishop in matters of diocesan nature; by the provost, with the bishop's consent, in purely capitular matters.³ Are canons obliged to observe silence concerning things discussed or transacted in the meetings of the chapter? The *jus commune* is silent as to this obligation. However, it may frequently happen that because of certain consequences, canons may commit sin by divulging such matter. Canons are bound and may be compelled to accept capitular charges or offices to which they may be elected.

Another obligation is that of saying the divine office in common. It is certain that by the common law of the church, canons are bound daily to say the divine office or breviary together in choir. They cannot, however, be compelled by the bishop to sing the office, it being sufficient that they recite it in a loud, clear, and intelligible voice.⁴ Moreover by the common law of the church, all cathedral and collegiate chapters are bound to celebrate daily the conventual mass. In England the canons are dispensed from the obligation of reciting the office in common and saying the conventual mass. They merely come together once a month, say the tierce (*tertia*) in common, and then celebrate or assist at solemn mass.⁵ The next duty is that of residence. By the common law of the church canons are *sub gravi* obliged to reside near the

¹ Ferraris, v. Capitulum, art. i., n. 8-20; cf. ib. Novæ addit., n. 8 sq.

² Craiss., n. 2300.

³ Coll. Lac., vol. iii., pp. 923, 949.

⁴ Craiss., n. 2317.

⁵ Coll. Lac., l. c., pp. 923, 948.

cathedral, or, as the case may be, collegiate church, in order to be able to say the office in choir, etc. But every year they can be absent for three months. In England canons of cathedral chapters are dispensed by papal indult from the obligation of residence. In fact they are, as a rule, pastors, and reside in their several parishes situate in various parts of the diocese. Canons of cathedral churches, also, in England, are bound to make the profession of faith, and that as amended by Pope Pius IX., in 1877, so as to include the dogmas of the Vatican Council. They must make this profession at least within two months after they are appointed.¹ Honorary canons are not obliged to make this profession.

Rights of Chapters.—Formerly chapters possessed far greater prerogatives than now. We shall briefly discuss the chief rights at present vested in canons. One of their principal prerogatives, as laid down by the common law of the Church, consists in their right to be consulted by the bishop in the administration of the diocese. This right flows from the very nature of chapters. For, as was shown, they constitute the senate and council of the bishop. Hence, by the common law of the Church as still in force, the bishop is bound in a number of cases to act by the advice and even consent of the chapter. We observe that the difference between the advice and consent of the chapter is apparent. For, when the bishop is bound to act with the consent of the chapter, he must conform to what is decided by the chapter, that is, by a majority of the chapter; otherwise his acts are void. But if the advice of the chapter is merely required, a simple consultation with the chapter capitularly assembled is sufficient, and although he is bound to ask this advice even under pain of nullity of the act, yet he is not obliged to follow it.² To this it may be objected that such advice, which the bishop is at entire liberty to adopt or reject, would be altogether useless. The objection does not hold. For this consultation may be beneficial in many respects. In fact, it will serve as a barrier to precipitation on the part of the bishop, since he will thus be compelled to proceed more slowly, and will no doubt by the advice of the chapter be sometimes induced to change his mind.³ However, by custom lawfully prescribed, the bishop may in some cases (though not in all) be exempt from the obligation of advising with or obtaining the consent of the chapter. In like manner, by custom, the bishop may be bound to act with the advice or consent of the chapter, even in matters of minor importance, where the common law of the Church requires neither. In what cases is the bishop obliged by the law of the Church as in force at present to ask the advice of the chapter? 1. Speaking in

¹ Craiss, n. 2365.² Reiff, lib. iii., tit. x., n. 2, 10.³ Craiss., n. 2391.

general, he is bound to ask this advice in all affairs of any importance. 2. Speaking in particular, the chief cases where the law expressly requires this advice are: 1st. In making synodal statutes. 2d. In proceeding against and punishing ecclesiastics for criminal offences. This is the opinion of Phillips, Ferraris, and others. 3d. In the administration of ecclesiastical property. 4th. In the erection of religious houses.

In what cases is the bishop bound to act, not merely with the advice, but with the consent of the chapter? 1. Speaking in general, this consent is requisite whenever a notable burden is to be imposed upon the church, *e. g.*, by loans, donations, and the like; also in all cases where a considerable injury is likely to result to the church, the bishop's successors, or the chapter; also in matters pertaining jointly to the bishop and the chapter, or touching the interests of the chapter.¹ 2. Speaking in particular, the following are some of the cases where this consent is indispensable: 1st. In the alienation (*e. g.*, by sale, exchange, donation, or mortgage) of real and valuable personal property of the cathedral, except where the bishop has obtained special leave from the Holy See. When there is question of alienating the property of other churches of the diocese, besides the consent of the ecclesiastics of such churches that of the chapter is requisite, if the bishop be the chief author of the alienation, but not if the administrators of such churches are themselves the chief movers in the matter. 2d. In the suppression of canonships and the erection of new prebends. 3d. In the dividing, uniting, and suppressing of benefices or parishes. 4th. In the imposing of new contributions or collections.

Observe, that the consent of the chapter, where it is required by ecclesiastical law, as in the above cases, should be given by the canons capitularly assembled, that is, formally assembled in chapter. The opinions of canons given out of the formal meetings or sessions of the chapter are of no account. This consent moreover must be that of the majority present; nay, in matters referring to the canons individually, the consent of each and every one is required.² In like manner, where merely the advice of the chapter is requisite, it must be given by the canons capitularly assembled.

Bishops' Councils in the United States.—In regard to these councils or quasi-chapters, the Fathers of the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore³ say: "*Mortandos Episcopos censuerunt (Patres) ut ubi fieri poterit, in suis Diocesisibus aliquos sacerdotes aetate, scientia, integritate, et rerum agendarum peritia conspicuos seligant, quos consultores constituent, et quorum sententias in*

¹ Bouix de Cap., p. 352.

² Craisson, 2402; Bouix de Cap., p. 369.

³ N. 71.

administratione Dioceseos, cum opus fuerit, exquirant. Laudandum etiam censuerunt consuetudinem alicubi vigentem singulis saltem mensibus, die determinato, illos convocandi, ut quae ad Dioecesim pertinent discutiantur." These Episcopal or diocesan councils, as they exist in this country, have no corporate existence, that is, they have no organization as a separate body, and hence no presiding officer or other officials of their own. The bishop is their sole head, convenes them at his pleasure, and always presides at their meetings. The members are appointed exclusively by the bishop without any concurrence on the part of the clergy; they never give their opinions as a corporate body, but merely as individual advisers of the bishop. Neither have these councils been constituted or approved as canonical chapters by the Holy See. Hence they are not canonical chapters, have not the rights of the latter, and therefore need not "*sub poena nullitatis actus*" be consulted. *A fortiori*, the bishop is not obliged to obtain their consent. We said *sub poena nullitatis*; for, bishops' councils with us, as the words themselves imply, and as the Fathers of the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore state, are appointed for the purpose of advising the bishop in the government of the diocese, and were evidently intended by the Fathers of Baltimore to take the place of chapters as far as practicable in this country, and to serve as preparatives to the introduction of canonical chapters, at least as existing in Ireland and England. Hence the Fathers of Baltimore urgently exhort bishops to have these councils, as appears from these words: "*Oportet episcopos vocare in adiutorium suum sacerdotes pietate, zelo, prudentia ac doctrina conspicuos, qui consiliis sapientibus eos adjuvent.*"¹

Would it be feasible to institute chapters in this country on the model of those in Ireland or England? Throughout England, as we have shown, there are canonically established chapters, having corporate organizations and officers of their own. There are no prebends or canons' benefices. Hence the canons are pastors or professors, living, not near the cathedral, but in various parts of the diocese. They ordinarily meet but once a month, and are excused from the obligation of residing near the cathedral and of saying the "office" in choir. They select the three candidates to be proposed to the Holy See for vacant bishoprics, and upon them, or rather their vicars-capitular, devolves the administration of the diocese, *sede vacante*. From the above it is apparent that chapters, as they exist in England, could easily be introduced into nearly every diocese of the United States. The permission of the Holy See would indeed be requisite, but there could be no difficulty in obtaining it.

¹ C. Pl. Balt., ii., n. 70.

Power of Chapters to make Regulations for their own Government.—Chapters can without the bishop's consent make such statutes as do not relate to the general state of the Church or the bishop and his rights. Hence they can enact statutes in regard to their own government as ecclesiastical corporations, *e.g.*, concerning the mode of procedure in their meetings and the like.¹ Chapters have this right from the very fact that they are corporations. They can even enact penal statutes having for their object the enforcing of their regulations; the penalties however must not exceed the limits of domestic authority or *jurisdictio aconomica*. Chapters moreover have power to make regulations in regard to the administration of the cathedral. For the administration of the cathedral belongs jointly to the bishop and the chapter, so that both, though only jointly, can make regulations regarding the cathedral. We said "only jointly;" hence neither can validly make such statutes without the consent of the other. Thus, for instance, the bishop cannot accept foundations for masses or anniversaries without the chapter's consent.² In England, however, the administration of the cathedral and consequently the enacting of regulations relating to it, pertain exclusively to the bishop.³

It is to be observed that chapters as soon as canonically erected, have at once, by the common law of the Church, the above right of making statutes. Moreover, amendments to the statutes can be made by those who have the right to make the statutes. Thus statutes which the chapter can enact alone, can be corrected by it alone; on the other hand those which the bishop can make alone, can be corrected by him alone; those, finally, which can be established only by the concurrence of the bishop and the chapter, can be amended only by the consent of both.⁴ Nay, statutes of chapters, even though confirmed by the bishop or the Holy See, can nevertheless be changed by the chapter, provided they regard matters within the competence of the chapter, and provided the confirmation be not such as to cause the statutes to become Episcopal or Papal law. Again, regulations or statutes lawfully made solely by the chapter, and *a fortiori*, when approved by the bishop or the Holy See, are binding on all the canons, and can be enforced by the chapter even under penalties.

In England the Synod of Westminster, held in 1852, approved a uniform set of statutes for chapters already established or to be established in England. The canons also in England can make new statutes, provided it be by the votes of two-thirds of the canons.⁵

¹ Bouix de Cap., p. 387.

² Craiss., n. 2418.

³ Coll. Lac., l. c., p. 948.

⁴ Craiss., n. 2419.

⁵ Coll. Lac., iii., pp. 946, 951.

Rights of Chapters concerning Diocesan Synods and Synodal Statutes.—It is certain, 1. That the bishop may announce and convene the synod without the consent or even advice of the chapter. 2. That he does not need the consent of the chapter in framing the synodal constitutions, except when matters are involved where canon law requires this consent. 3. That the synodal statutes, however, must under pain of nullity, be made with the advice of the chapter, any custom to the contrary notwithstanding.¹ Although the celebration of the synod cannot be delayed by any appeal, yet the synodal decrees, before being enforced or practically received, should be shown to the chapter and others interested, that is, to the priests and ecclesiastics of the diocese (not, however, to laymen), and the term of two months be prefixed them, so that they may, should they feel themselves aggrieved by any of the statutes, recur either to the bishop himself or the Holy See.² Cathedral chapters have a right to be invited to provincial councils, and *sede plena* they have only a consultative vote, but *sede vacante* a decisive voice.

How are the above rights of chapters in regard to diocesan synods applicable to bishops' councils in the United States? These councils are not, as we have shown, canonical chapters; hence the bishop, in framing synodal statutes, is not obliged, *sub pœna nullitatis*, to ask their advice, though the Fathers of the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore exhort bishops to advise with their councils in diocesan affairs, and consequently also in regard to synodal constitutions.

By the common law of the Church, the cathedral chapter has the *cura habitualis* of the cathedral church, and is therefore vested with the right to administer the offerings of the faithful.³ In England, however, and Ireland, chapters have no such *cura habitualis* nor right of administration, the bishop retaining the full and exclusive control of the cathedral and its revenues.

Prerogatives of Canons as to Dress.—The dress by which canons are usually distinguished from other priests and ecclesiastics, consists chiefly in the rochet, cape, *almutium*, and *cappa*. The rochet (*rochetum*) is a surplice or linen garment with narrow sleeves. Those who can wear it, put on over it, when celebrating mass, the amice, alb, and the other sacred vestments. The cape (*mozzetta*) is a short vestment covering the head (as a hood, though it is no longer used for this purpose) and shoulders. The *almutium* is at present a garment worn on one shoulder or also on the left arm. The *cappa* is a full robe which covers the whole body. These insignia, however, cannot be worn except by leave from the Holy

¹ Bouix de Cap., p. 401.² Ferraris, v. Synodus, n. 44, 45.³ Craiss., n. 2437.

See, which is usually given when the chapter is erected. Canons wear these insignia outside of their own diocese or even church, *i. e.*, out of the cathedral or collegiate church? They cannot, any custom to the contrary notwithstanding.¹ In England canons wear only the rochet and cape; but by virtue of Papal indult they can wear these insignia, not merely in the cathedral, but also in their own churches, of which they may be pastors at the time.²

THE LABOR QUESTION.

1. *Labor in Europe and America.* A special report on the Rates of Wages, the Cost of Subsistence, and the Condition of the Working Classes in Great Britain, Germany, France, Belgium, and other countries of Europe; also in the United States and British America. By Edward Young, Ph. D., Chief of the United States Bureau of Statistics: Washington, 1875.
2. *Railroads; Their Origin and Problem.* By Charles Francis Adams, Jr.: New York, 1878.
3. *Reports on the Statistics of Labor.* Massachusetts: Carroll D. Wright, Chief.
4. *Letter to Hon. John Sherman, Secretary of the Treasury.* By Joseph Nimond, Jr., Chief of the United States Bureau of Statistics. September 14th, 1878.

THE labor question is the question paramount in the country. All other issues are discussed relatively to it. The two old political parties, Democrat and Republican, have donned their thinking-caps, and are trying to find the answer to it. Labor—labor exaggerated into labor, idealized, personified—has suddenly cast a gigantic shadow over the entire country, and while economists speculate about it, and philosophers dogmatize over it, the political demagogues of both parties have fallen on their knees before it. It has turned both the old parties into self-contradicting factions. It has engendered new parties—Nationals, Socialists, Communists, Greenbackers. No matter what the party name, what the party theory, all appeal to the workingman—non-capitalizing his initial. The single standard hard money men assure him that his

¹ S. C. R., Apr. 16th, 1861.

² Coll. Lac., iii, pp. 924, 966.

future safety lies only in their hands; specie resumption and a gold standard are offered as a panacea. The bi-metallic men, the silverites, the "fiat" money doctrinaires, assure him that it is only "bloated capital" which seeks specie resumption and a single standard, and urge him to look for fortune and happiness in a practically unlimited currency, issued by the government and called, for want of a truer name, "money." The radical extremists even insist that silver and gold shall be demonetized!

Amid the din of these contending factions, the American workman finds himself in a state of supposititious apotheosis. Every convention puts him into its platform. Every office-seeker, confessed or contemplative, doffs the hat to him.

While essays are written for his enlightenment, and speeches are made from every platform to catch his ear, flatter his vanity, increase his sense of political importance, and make him clutch his ballot the tighter, his children are poorly clad, his home is wanting many of the comforts to which he was accustomed a few years ago, his wife is querulous because "things are not as they used to be," and he finds it hard enough to buy the necessities of his simple board, and keep his children in school. All at once his work ceases. What then? If he have nothing saved, he falls back upon his credit. Soon that is exhausted. And then? If he be a member of a trades-union, or of a mutual benevolent association, he obtains temporary assistance. That cannot last long. He draws near despair. He sees his family approach starvation. All the instincts of the man in him are angrily aroused. He looks from the pallor of his wife and the pinched faces of his children to the stately homes of wealth that decorate the avenues. The contrast exasperates him. His own unsatisfied homage is nothing to the passion he suffers for the dependents upon his industry, whom he would think it happiness to serve could he but obtain the chance. In his despondency the demagogues gather about him. It is only his ballot they want; he cannot understand their shallow pretensions, or, if he does, he is willing to dispose of it to the party that will give him bread and something more for his wife and little ones. The Communist says to him: "Revolution. Property is robbery. Let the State own everything, and divide equally." The Democrat says to him: "Vote our ticket, and you shall have everything you want." The Republican says to him: "Abandon the old Democratic party and come with us. Prosperity will instantly follow." Thus does he turn from one to the other; and as the proposition of the Communist was the most tangible, it obtained the largest following. The chief result was the rioting of last summer, extending along the principal trunk railroad lines, and culminating in loss of life and the annihilation

of millions of dollars' worth of property. But it did not solve the labor question. There are to-day in the United States half a million men, unskilled, out of employment, and 250,000 skilled mechanics. These 750,000 voters have ballots. If they had not, the political parties would pay no more attention to their distress than did the aristocrats of Sparta to the helots. It is because these three-quarters of a million are freemen, are political "sovereigns," that their want provokes sympathy and their appeals create discussion. Notwithstanding the attention thus far given to the subject by both demagogues and honest men, by philosophers and fools, no agreement has been reached concerning the causes or the remedies. These facts are conceded: that production has greatly diminished; that wages are low; that at least three-quarters of a million of men are out of employment. But while one coterie of economists charges the depression to the hard money policy of the government and the specie resumption act, another attributes it to the greenback policy of the war; a third blames the tariff for not protecting home industry enough; a fourth urges free trade as the only remedy; and a din of vagaries, theories, criminations, threats, and prophecies is kept up, whose noise is deafening the country. The United States Congress felt the pervading influence of the excitement, and appointed a committee, of which Hon. A. J. Hewitt, of New York, is chairman, to investigate the causes of the depression, and report at the next session. The committee has heard a large number of witnesses, drawn from every rank in life, but their testimony—their opinions rather—present the same contradictions observable in the general press and platform discussion. It is not denied that the laboring classes have a complaint against capital and against the government; and the fear is felt throughout the country that the mischievous counsels of demagogues; the failure of so large a number of men to obtain as high wages as they commanded a few years ago, and the apparent impossibility of nearly a million—demagogues say five millions—obtaining work at any price, may precipitate upon the nation the curse of communistic principles, if principles they may be called, which are the maxims of only brigands and thieves, and that a revolution may be attempted. In such a time it is the duty of all men to examine the complaint, since it is conceded one exists; to counsel with each other as to partial remedies, for a perfect remedy for labor distress never has been found and never will be, and, by calm examination and kindly conference, endeavor to remove injustice, to soothe the excitement, and to remind all parties of their duty to God and to their country.

What are the chief causes of the depression? The madness of speculation which attended and followed the war; which expanded

the business of the country beyond honest limits; which raised wages above figures consistent with legitimate enterprise. We are now in the inevitable contracting process. We are getting back to the natural basis. When the convulsion is over, peace will resume its sway, and contentment follow discontent.

What may be made partial aids toward relieving the discontent? The government removing the surplus population of the manufacturing districts to the public lands; withdrawing women as largely as possible out of employments in which their competition reduces men's wages; Christianity.

In the midst of the "cry of labor" heard on every side, the cry of a capitalist comes upon the ear almost quaintly. Among those examined before the Hewitt Committee was Mr. J. H. Walker, President of the Worcester, Mass., Board of Trade, and the head of a large firm which makes leather in Chicago, sends it to Worcester to be made into shoes, and ships the goods throughout the West. Mr. Walker avowed himself a capitalist, and he affirmed that the misfortunes of the period had "fallen with crushing force on that class who have heretofore been capitalists." In answer to the question: "What was the cause of the panic?" he said:

"The abuse of credit. The activities called out by the war and the issuing of paper money, produced a delirium of enterprise, or, perhaps, more properly speaking, of manufacturing and trading activity, which has reversed with remarkable distinctness and power the law of compensation, which governs in all things.

"The abuse of credit is what has brought upon both Europe and America the commercial revulsion of the last few years, aggravated there as here by the inflation of the currency.

"Credit became as cheap as dirt. As every dollar of our circulating medium must be redeemed by one of intrinsic value, so every promise must be redeemed by doing the thing promised. Destroy confidence in the ultimate redemption of either, and it is itself destroyed.

"The people suddenly awoke from their delusion, and we had the panic.

"That for all any of us can see, things might have gone on for ten years more as they had done for the ten years preceding 1873 is certain; but that the longer the day of settlement was put off the more suffering it would cause is equally certain.

"We are settling our accounts for a new departure, is the meaning, and the whole meaning and cause, of the panic. It was and is no 'panic,' but a rational adjustment of affairs. It is a simple settlement of balances, the adjustment of bankrupt promises.

"This period of settlement involves the happiness of all classes without exception, but it has fallen with crushing force on that class who have heretofore been capitalists. There is and has been no destruction of property; the country has actually increased in wealth and power during the last four years, but the amount of property distributed in the interest of the mass of the people, and substantially to them, is immense—almost past comprehension."

In support of his assertion that the effects of the panic had fallen with crushing force upon the capitalists, Mr. Walker said:

"I estimate the losses to holders of what is known as first class securities, such as first mortgages, etc., to be fully ten per cent., and of all other so-called securities and stocks forty per cent., and on real and personal property thirty-three and one-third per cent.

On the government debt, the holders have practically lost about twenty per cent., for the holders of government bonds could do nothing else with the money paid them other than reinvest in four per cents.

"They have practically surrendered a six per cent. bond for a four per cent. bond, the four per cent. bond being worth to them an income one-third less than the one exchanged for it.

"If any are disposed to question the correctness of the assertion that a very large part of this immense sum has been distributed, let them reflect that probably one-third of it represents the wages paid laborers for building and equipping railroads, public improvements in towns, counties, and cities, houses in cities and towns, the improvements in farms, etc., etc., causing a large increase in all the trade and industry in the country for the time being.

"The accumulations of the abused bondholders were parted with for these evidences of debt before 1873, and the money then went into the whole circle of the industries of the country, and the destruction of the bonds, and other evidences of debt then, leaves it never to be collected.

"Take a railroad costing one hundred millions, built to transport coal, the net receipts on which must be kept up to seven millions to meet the interest on its cost—each ton of coal that is carried over it is taxed in the form of freight, which is paid by the consumer.

"In the universal settlement of balances, or the general settling of values, whichever term we select, the railroad now stands at twenty millions; the net receipts now need be only \$1,400,000 to pay the same rate of dividend, and the tax on a ton of coal to the consumer, in the form of freight, is perpetually reduced four-fifths, which, to the laboring man as to others, is the equivalent of investing to his credit a sum sufficiently large to pay this difference in freight on his coal, and so on through the whole list of evidences of debt that have been destroyed."

While conceding that Mr. Walker states the chief cause of the panic with substantial correctness, it is impossible to accept his analysis of its effects. He does not explain why he estimates the losses on first class securities at ten per cent., and on all other securities and stocks at forty per cent. "Abuse of credit" explains it, however, as well as any other term would. Mortgages executed during the "delirium of enterprise" were based upon the swollen values of real estate and the false cheapness of money; the holders of these mortgages got fully the worth of their investment in the exorbitant interest, and in case of final default became proprietors of real estate, not indeed any longer represented as worth the fictitious price of a "delirious" period, but worth to them as much as to anybody else, and much more to them than to the unfortunate debtor, no longer a capitalist, if he was ever one, who succumbs to the general distress, and gives up everything he has to the fortunate capitalist, who, were his first investment prudent, gets more than the worth of his money. Mr. Walker does not explain why he puts the loss on other stocks and securities at forty per cent. "Abuse of credit" explains it. The stocks he describes in these too general terms were "delirious" stocks. They represented the fictions of fever or the bold lies of swindlers. No fact is more palpable than that the panic of 1873, precipitated by the failure of Jay Cooke & Co., would have found fewer victims had

there been more honesty among capitalists. Stocks were put in the market, by the aid of arrant falsehood, which never represented a dollar of actual capital, and whose sole value consisted in the money paid for them by unsuspecting labor out of the frugal savings of daily wages. A half dozen capitalists formed an insurance company, organized with an alleged capital of \$1,000,000, consisting wholly of their notes, divided the shares among themselves, and then put them on the market with gaudy misrepresentations. As fast as cash was received from unsuspecting victims, the officers of the company spent it for their personal support and enjoyment; and when companies thus organized and thus carried on, fell to pieces, one after another, because in the general shrinkage of business they could no longer find victims with cash, the true value of the stocks was exposed. It cannot be correctly said that there was a decline of forty per cent. in stocks which were never worth anything at all. Mr. Walker's statement that the holders of government bonds have lost twenty per cent. on them is inexplicable. His attempt to make it appear that the working people obtained the advantages of inflation, and the capitalist alone its disadvantages, is unfair and shallow. Wages were higher, nominally, during the "delirious" period, but so was the cost of living. Both capital and labor were "delirious;" but in the weak and nervous convalescence labor suffers much more than capital, for the simple reason, that the effect of the contraction is general and practically even, and if it be ten per cent. or forty per cent., still does the capitalist suffer the less, because he who has \$10,000 can live on his balance, while he who had three dollars a day during the "delirium," and finds that reduced ten per cent. or thirty per cent., while his family has increased and his wants along with his family, is very much worse off. It ought to be remembered that it was capital, not labor, that brought on the "delirium." It was not labor which projected the dozens of fraudulent life and marine insurance concerns, nor did labor receive any benefit whatever from them; for the scanty surplus which workingmen could afford to put into them was consumed by the capitalists, was sent abroad for silks and velvets, for table silver, for carpets, and for wines. It was not labor which obtained any profit from the savings banks of the East and West, whose managers literally stole the deposits and expended them in superb dwellings, in showy equipages, in imported fabrics, jewels, bric-a-brac, and beverages.

The manner in which this class of organized swindles was carried on is well illustrated in the case of the "State Savings Institution," of Chicago. One Spencer borrowed enough money on the inflated value of real estate and hollow securities to buy some shares in this bank. By unscrupulous tactics he obtained control

of sufficient stock to make himself president. He then coolly took the cash deposits and bought more stock in his own name, leaving his notes instead, until nearly all of the stock was in his own name. He thus literally bought the bank for himself with the depositors' money. By systematic misrepresentations he persuaded the working people of Chicago to deny themselves comforts and indulgences, and intrust their savings to him and to other savings banks of that city, several of which practiced the same policy. So anxious was Spencer to obtain control of the bank stock, that he purchased it at an enormous advance, with the depositors' money of course. By the failure of three Chicago savings banks nearly twenty-five thousand people, nine-tenths of them working people, were simply robbed by swindlers of all that they had been able to save, by rigorous self-denial, for idle days and old age. If communism holds up its serpent head in Chicago, and compels the city to sustain militia to put down riots, it has the dishonesty of these swindlers to thank; for the failure of the banks, the exposure of the audacious thievery by which they were carried on, and the fact that not one of the swindlers has been prosecuted, much less punished, have tended to make workingmen furious toward capital, defiant of law, whose penalties appear to be reserved only for poor thieves, and careless of their own habits, since frugality was so basely betrayed. It was capital, not labor, that created the period of "delirium;" it is upon labor that its consequences most heavily fall. If the present depression be an "adjustment of bankrupt promises," it ought not to be forgotten by intelligent capitalists, like Mr. Walker, that the promises were made by capital to labor, and that it is labor upon which the consequences fall "with crushing force."

Mr. Walker, in the paragraph beginning "In the universal settlement of balances," says that in the settling of values, the charge in the cost of transporting coal over a railroad represents to the laboring man an investment to his credit of a sum sufficient to pay the difference on his freight on coal. How will this investment be made to realize for the laboring man? Suppose a man who earned three dollars per day during the "delirious" period, and earns nothing now, goes to a coal company, and asks that he be allowed the benefit of his investment. Does Mr. Walker doubt that the coal company will seek in behalf of this deluded man a writ *de lunatico inquirendo*? Mr. Walker is undoubtedly correct in attributing the present distress to "abuse of credit." But he is unfair to labor in discussing the consequences. An "abuse of credit" refers solely to capital. Labor has no credit. It must pay as it goes. Capital alone has credit. If capital abused credit, it is grossly unfair to charge labor, which has none, with being an accessory before the

fact. If capital must share with labor the consequences of the abuse of credit, capital has small cause for complaint.

So far as I am aware the influence of one factor in the present condition of labor has not been noticed, much less estimated by any of the numerous writers upon this perplexing problem: the vast invasion by women into occupations previously held almost exclusively by men. This invasion shows at present these effects: (1.) Tens of thousands of men have been dismissed into the ranks of the unemployed. (2.) Wages have been lowered for the men who remain in competition with women, for the latter constitute one class of "cheap labor," and have been hired so extensively to displace men not because they work better, but cheaper. It is an almost universal fact that in kinds of toil in which both sexes do the same work, men are still paid more than women, even when their common product shows no inequality of skill. I have studied the industrial statistics of Great Britain, France, and Germany, for the purpose of verifying this, and in many hundred pages of industrial figures I found only one exception. The Gillott steel pen is a typical illustration of the effect of the substitution of women's labor for men's. A little more than fifty years ago steel pens were worth from fifty to seventy-five cents each, and were very stiff and clumsy, having but a single slit in the middle. They were almost wholly handmade by men. Gillott cut a slit on either side of the middle one, thus securing elasticity; he substituted machinery and women for men, and within a year a thousand pens could be had as cheap as one had been. The employees in the Gillott Birmingham factories are nearly all girls and women, who earn about \$2.50 a week. There is scarcely a mechanical occupation in which women in England are not employed; their wages average about fifty per cent. of men's. In lock and safe-making they earn from \$2.17 to \$3.14 per week; in file manufacturing, \$2.42; in cutlery, \$2.17 to \$2.90; in coach building, \$1.94 to \$2.42; in pottery, from \$1.94 to \$4.84; in glass making, \$2.40; in tanning, \$2.52; in india-rubber, \$2.18 to \$4.36; in cartridge making, \$1.94 to \$4.60. They are scissors-makers, porcelain enamellers and burnishers, clay-makers, painters of earthenware, harness-makers, thimble-makers; they work in the iron, steel, and brass foundries of Wolverhampton; in Sheffield they make saws and silver-plated ware; in Lancashire there are over 100,000 engaged in textile industries. Throughout all these diverse occupations, no matter what the quality or the quantity of the work, they receive only about half a man's wages. In France, their distribution through the industries is equally remarkable. In Paris alone there are 178,000 women engaged in trades, or trade; in addition to the occupations in which it would be natural to look for them, they are cane-makers, glove-makers;

they manufacture boots, buttons, umbrellas, combs, brushes, perfumes, wooden shoes, paper and type, potted meats, toys, and playing cards. There are among them 140 butchers, 18 slaughter-house laborers, 9 boatbuilders, 245 "wheelwrights, carriage-makers, farriers, and saddlers;" 291 are engaged on military equipments, and 43 make firearms, swords, and bayonets. They are architects, sawyers, carpenters, masons and slaters, marble and stonecutters, chimney-sweeps, plumbers, plasterers, paperhangers, glaziers, and decorators. They are employed in gas manufacture, leather, chemicals, in metal and hardware, in all kinds of wood turning, in drugs, diamonds, rubies, cast iron, steel, and copper, and the average wages all around is twenty-five cents a day! Even the ruby-cutters earn only from fifteen to thirty cents. Jules Simon tells a hat story which illustrates the value placed on women's labor. Panama hats are made of the leaves of the *yhypha*; one of these a Nancy manufacturer sold for 60 francs; he paid three to the woman who braided it, and, after being exhibited in Paris, it was sold for 2000 francs. The toy and bonbon-makers have to sit up all night "and strain every nerve," yet they earn the merest pittance. The lacemakers earn no more than women in factories. A skilful sewing woman can make three paletots in two days, by sewing steadily thirteen hours a day, and then she will have earned about fifty cents. In Germany women work more universally than in England or France, at coarser occupations, and for still less pay. The wages of the head of the family, the man is called so, although, in truth, the woman is oftener the head among the poor working classes, are so small that the wife and children must also work in order to eke out an extremely simple existence. German women do a large share of the agricultural labor; their pay is about half that paid to men laborers. In Austria, in Switzerland, in brief in every part of the old world, the wives and daughters of the laboring men toil regularly for daily bread, and their total earnings are not more than enough to sustain life. The fact that women laborers can be so easily had for wages so much smaller than men earn, tends necessarily to enlarge constantly the number of women in all kinds of labor which they are able to perform, and exerts at the same time a constant downward influence in wages. The domestic life led in localities where the entire family is compelled to toil for subsistence is extremely wretched. Happily we know little of it in the United States. One or two illustrations will be sufficient to show the moral consequences of the total absence of home feeling and domestic restraint. In Bradford, England, "there is nothing to relieve the eye or cheer the imagination in the vast sea of downturned faces. The lower classes there are utterly destitute of anything calculated to break the monotony of their toilsome look. They

have no manners or customs, or costumes; no games or frolics with which to animate the spectacle they present to the eye of the foreigner. They work, and work, and work; they drink, and drink, and drink; they smoke, and smoke, and smoke. They do as their fathers did; their children do as they do. Father and mother, and child, go forth to their labor until the evening, and go forth to the beer-shop when the evening comes. . . . That is his only home indeed—his home and theatre, recreation and education, social life, mental life, and animal life, all in one.”¹ In Sheffield, “the mother being away from home, . . . enters as an important element in estimating the moral condition of this class of people. For the husband, knowing there is no comfort for him at home, resorts to the nearest dram-shop for refreshment, the wife in many cases doing the same. . . . The work is very largely duty work; and when one sees the untidy condition of the vast numbers of females that swarm from these great ‘works,’ the conviction will force itself upon the mind that virtue must be in great peril while in constant association with such want of cleanliness.”² In Birmingham,³ “family comfort is totally unknown.” . . . “The families are almost universally large, requiring the manual labor of the mother, and also of the children at an early age. . . . In a large number of cases the women drink as badly as the men, and have no ambition to better their condition.” In Manchester, where father, mother, and children, are usually engaged in factory work, “their houses are squalid, wretched and desolate,” and all are addicted to gross intemperance. At the St. Helen’s colliery, near Liverpool, the morals of the men are said to have been improved “since the discontinuance of sending women down into the pit, but they are not remarkably good yet.” Going over to Germany, “more than a fifth of the whole number of factory operatives” in Lower Silesia, “are females.” “Their moral condition, owing to the male and female operatives working together at the mills,” is far from commendable. “Large numbers of them lead a dissolute life.” In Prussia, the state of morals in the towns is bad, owing, in large part, to the “indiscriminate mixture of the sexes in factories.” In Barmen, husband, wife, and children have to work, even to live from hand to mouth; and when business is dull, they are dependents on charity. In Dantzic, family comfort is unknown, “women earn about a dollar and a half per week.” “Education, although compulsory, is not much attended to among the lower classes, and morals are at a very low ebb.” Consul-General Webster, writing from Frankfort-on-the-Main, says: “The German is not a hard-working man; that is, he does not produce much unless he is a farmer working upon his own

¹ Labor in Europe and America, p. 407.² *Ib.*, p. 408.³ *Ib.*, p. 410.

land. The fact that women are compelled to work in the fields, doing every kind of work that even the servile classes of the South were formerly compelled to do, shows great destitution or gross indolence on the part of the men." Perhaps it would be fairer to attribute it to the pernicious influence of social and industrial custom, which pays less wages for the work women do, and then imposes on them as much work as they prove able to bear.

In the United States, the working-women present to us a very different aspect. In the Eastern States, where the factory doors are open to all kinds of workers, women of all ages are employed; but cases are extremely uncommon of whole families being compelled to work. As a rule, the father and the sons, or with them, the oldest daughters, earn enough to keep comfortably at home the mother and the younger children, who get a chance to go to school, either the whole day or a part of it. The effect of factory life upon the women operatives cannot be very bad if Massachusetts be a fair illustration. In 1875, the whole number of convicts in the State was 4340; of these 762 were women, and only 21 of the number had been employed in the factories. In the mining regions of the Central and Western States and of the Territories, the degradation of women to the state of those of England, is not only unknown but would be impossible. It is true, however, that the invasion of men's occupations by women has lowered wages in the United States; and, as there are enough men in the country to do all the work that is now to be done, the withdrawal of women and girls would raise wages, and substantially improve the general condition of the working classes. The first great impetus was given to miscellaneous work for women by the war of the rebellion. Two million men cannot be drawn to the camp and the battlefield without leaving the farm neglected, the manufactory crippled, and the counter unattended. Nor can two million men abandon home, and not leave their families in danger of want unless other supporters arise. The two necessities—the demand for more hands to work, and the demand of families for bread—sent women into the manufactories, the stores and shops, and even to the farms. It is not an uncommon sight in the German, Norwegian, and Swedish farming settlements in Iowa, Wisconsin, Kansas, Minnesota, and Nebraska, to find the farmers' wives and daughters working in the summer and the autumn, according to the customs of their own countries; and there is surely no objection to it. They are at home; the family is not divided; they are seasonably clad; their kitchens are bright and clean, their sleeping-rooms neat and well aired. But for ten years after the beginning of the war, American women, who had never handled hoe or swung a scythe, became farm hands. There was scarcely a form

of occupation into which they did not crowd, the only limit being their education or their endurance. Inexperienced men could command higher wages than had been paid to skill prior to the breaking out of the war; hence women were in still greater demand, because they were glad to work for very little. The idea of demanding high wages, or the same wages paid to men, did not become general among them. Conscious only of their own and their families' need, and of natural disabilities which prevent them from competing on equal terms with men, they were content, as a rule, to accept whatever compensation is offered. A man, if discontented, could leave one locality and seek better fortune elsewhere; women were tied to home and would not leave except for some great object. Men appreciated the embarrassments under which employers labored and made the most of them; women were too inexperienced, too timid, and too sympathetic for this. As the war continued, the universal inflation of production and prices went on, wages rose, but men's in a much larger ratio than women's. When the armies were disbanded and the soldiers returned to their homes, the inflation was still in progress. Labor was still in demand, and the supply was slightly reduced by the encouragement of field settlers on government lands in the West. When the reaction began to set in; when the cessation of the enormous demands of the army began to make itself felt, the unemployed men increased in number. It was time for the women to move back from the stores, the shops, the factories; but they clung to their places, and, as rapidly as trade contracted, their wages were reduced, and men's wages were dragged down.

A new element, also engendered by the war, had become a social force, and operated to keep women in men's places. It was extravagance. High wages, the abundance of the paper money, and the immense sums circulated gradually among the lower working classes in the form of bounties, materially altered their style of living. Simplicity; frugality, economy, contentment, were forgotten. Families that, before the war, had been comfortable upon the father's wages of a dollar and a half or two dollars a day, could not get along on an income five times as great. Rents did not diminish in proportion to the shrinkage in wages; provisions continued high, and fell very slowly. The love of personal adornment had become a vice of the female sex; and young girls who, before the war, had never worn aught but simple pretty prints, were ambitious to wear fine fabrics and to patronize fashionable modistes. The vulgar vogue of false hair assisted in making them extravagant, and indeed all fashions of female customs grew more elaborate and more expensive. Our grandmothers' dresses were composed of a simple plain narrow skirt, a plain waist, and long,

narrow sleeves. The great stocks of fabrics which factors had accumulated made a clumsy dress necessary to work the goods off; hence fashion decreed that women's dresses should be composed of two, three, or four skirts, and the modes of trimming were devised strictly for the purpose of consuming material. Workingwomen, particularly those in avocations which brought them into contact with the public, strained after the fashion; they could not contemplate with favor the proposition to abandon their public employment and return to domestic cares and simple habits. All conditions of life had been affected by the false prosperity of the period. Floors which, when whitely scrubbed, needed no carpeting, were covered with three-ply, or Brussels; gaudy upholstery and expensive veneering had taken the place of plain chairs and tables; to a frugal and healthy diet, fancy cooking had succeeded; and from this new and enticing way of living there could not be a hidden voluntary withdrawal. Families needed much more to live on—to wear, to eat, to have about them, to spend in indulgences—than before the war; so the daughters kept their places, and as the young men growing up were being constantly added to the already too great number of idle veterans, the total of unemployed men swelled enormously year after year; and the inability of workingwomen to resist a cutting of wages necessarily helped to lower the wages of the workingmen.

There is in the United States, as in every other part of the world, and there will always be a large number of women for whom toil away from home will be a necessity, a duty, and an honor. Homeric legend has handed down the pretty story of Penelope undoing by night the portion of the web she had woven by day, in order to put off the suitors who pressed for her hand while she still hoped for the return of Ulysses. In our own time we have seen Lady Franklin devoting herself wholly to recovering some trace of her lost husband, Sir John, the secret of whose death the Arctic snows still keep. But more beautiful than any Hellenic myth or modern truth of wifely devotion, is the fidelity of her, who to do a daughter's duty to aged parents, or a sister's to younger brothers and sisters, intrepidly faces the perils, the responsibility, the pain, of toil away from home, and patiently plods year after year that the home may be kept, the parent nourished, and the younger children educated. For this division of women's labor every door should be opened, every path made clear. The "sphere" of such women as these is the place where they can get the best work and the highest wages. Instead of attempting to exclude them from the ranks, men should do the utmost to keep their wages up and to give them brotherly encouragement and friendly aid. There is still another class of women who must work, those

who, having only themselves to support, must support themselves. Census tables show that in all large centres of civilization, there are more women than men, just as on the frontiers there are more men than women. Where either sex is in undue preponderance, it is idle to talk about producing an equilibrium by marriage. Christianity refuses more than one wife and more than one husband. Unless we abolish monogamy—that is, abolish Christianity—the women who do not marry and have not fortunes, must be permitted to engage in profitable occupations, by which they may support themselves.

We have now reached this question. What shall be done with workingwomen so as to make their competition least injurious to workingmen?

Answer. Move the women up.

Move them out of the lower forms of wage occupations, where their numbers drag men's wages down, into the higher forms of labor, where wages are regulated more by skill and less by competition, and where the toil is mental more than physical—domestic service in families not included. Women have this almost exclusively to themselves.

On the Pacific Coast a slight effort was made to introduce the Chinese into the kitchen as well as into the laundry; but the attempt was unsuccessful. There may be said to exist no competition between men and women in housework. Nor is there any to injure men in the higher ranks of daily toil—teachers, bookkeepers, cashiers, heads of departments in mercantile houses, literary assistants, physicians. It is too late to say that women are not fitted for these avocations, or that they cannot be qualified for them. They are in them all. It would be fortunate for workingmen if more women were in them. In 1820 Mrs. Emma Willard presented to the New York legislature a petition asking for assistance in establishing a training school for women teachers. De Witt Clinton was governor. Mrs. Willard timidly asserted in her petition that women were “constitutionally apt to teach.” Clinton did not indorse the petition; it was looked upon as presumptuous and vain. To-day, seven-eighths of the teachers of the United States, in public and private schools, are women. The Catholic Church, whose policy is guided by profound philosophical principles, intrusts to women the entire management of the education of their sex; and the tens of thousands of pure homes, whose mothers have been graduated from convent academies, is ample testimony to the manner in which the sacred trust is discharged. If women may teach youth the lower branches of education, why shall they not also teach the higher? There is no reason, if they qualify themselves for this duty. It is not a novel one. Three hundred years

ago, under the direct protection of the Church, women were both students and professors in the Papal universities of Italy. The reader who tarries long enough among the cobwebbed catalogues of Bologna, Padua, Milan, and other universities of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, will find there, hidden by the dust and almost forgotten, the names of many women who occupied important chairs. The prudent man, who looks with suspicion upon women teaching Latin and Greek, English literature and natural science, need have no fear. Knowledge is good. God did not put sex into science. Given the substantial attainments and the faculty to instruct, and women are just as capable as men of teaching. It must be apparent to every rational mind that humanity itself requires that the competition between men and women in the poorly-paid kind of wage occupation shall be lessened in order that men's wages may be raised. This competition can be lessened in only two ways. By withdrawing to their homes young girls who can be employed at domestic or other work in their homes, provided the family have income enough to live on; and by *moving up* into the higher ranks women who have others or themselves to support. In large cities, the primary schools are taught generally by women and the supply of this class of teachers already exceeds the demand. There is always a demand, however, for special skill; women whose duty it is to toil, should be encouraged to cultivate to the highest degree, whatever talent or talents they may happen to possess in more than average measure. They should be encouraged also, in the medical profession. Woman has always been the nurse of the world. Shall she be an ignorant nurse, or an intelligent one? Her place is at the bedside of the sick; shall she be merely a machine, or shall she understand the nature, the properties, and the effects of the drugs she administers? If she understands them, will the patient thereby be hurt? If he be not hurt by her understanding his medicines, will it hurt her to know the nature of his disease? Look at the yellow fever district in the South. The fact has been repeatedly telegraphed and written from New Orleans, Memphis, Vicksburg, and other afflicted localities that, although men deserted their posts, women shrank from no danger, but nursed the victims of this almost inexplicable plague to convalescence or the grave. The disease, like very many others, demands incessant nursing—intelligent, judicious, and experienced attention. Is it less than brutal stupidity to put any obstacles in the way of women becoming intelligent nurses, since it will be their duty until the end of time to be nurses?

"To bear, to nurse, to rear,
To watch, and then to lose,"—

is the mother's lot, in the poet's phrase; but, though not a mother,

to nurse, to rear, to watch, is the lot of most women; and it is peculiarly appropriate that there should be women physicians in the hospitals, and in the world, to make a specialty of the diseases of women and children. In Russia, in England, Ireland, France, Germany, and the United States, women are passing up into the medical profession. The advance is slow; if it were hasty, it might not be so thorough. When Miss Caroline Herschel discovered five comets, the Royal Astronomical Society solemnly debated whether they should award her the gold medal usually bestowed for such services to science; and with the utmost gravity, they decided that, being a woman, she was not entitled to it. If the president of that association fell ill, and Miss Caroline Herschel were a physician, instead of being an astronomer, and healed him, would he have also decided that, being a woman, she was not entitled to her fee? Such want of logic and want of manliness is no longer, it is to be hoped, possible.

To recapitulate: There being an excess of women, a large number of women must work.

Competition between men and young women in the lower forms of wage occupations, drags men's wages down.

Morality requires that young girls shall be kept out of miscellaneous association with men.

Political economy as well as humanity requires that the wages of workingmen shall be increased so as to enable them to keep their daughters at home, and send them to school; and to this end, the competition between young women and men in work should be reduced by the withdrawal into their homes of girls who can be kept at home, and the *moving up* into the higher forms of labor of the women whose duty it is to work.

The interest of society requires that nothing shall be left undone to prevent the competition of men and women operating to reduce men's wages or to injure women's morals.

The presence of the Chinese on the Pacific Coast is an irritating factor in the labor problem in the far West, which can scarcely be fully appreciated in the eastern half of the country. The following table shows the annual arrivals of the Chinese at San Francisco, no report being kept prior to 1855:

| Year. | No. | Year. | No. | Year. | No. |
|-------------|-------|-------------|--------|--------------------|--------|
| 1855, . . . | 3,526 | 1863, . . . | 7,214 | 1871, . . . | 6,039 |
| 1856, . . . | 4,733 | 1864, . . . | 2,795 | 1872, . . . | 10,642 |
| 1857, . . . | 5,944 | 1865, . . . | 2,942 | 1873, . . . | 18,154 |
| 1858, . . . | 5,128 | 1866, . . . | 2,385 | 1874, . . . | 16,651 |
| 1859, . . . | 3,457 | 1867, . . . | 3,863 | 1875, . . . | 19,033 |
| 1860, . . . | 5,467 | 1868, . . . | 10,684 | 1876, . . . | 16,879 |
| 1861, . . . | 7,518 | 1869, . . . | 14,902 | 1877 (6 months), . | 7,656 |
| 1862, . . . | 3,633 | 1870, . . . | 11,943 | | |

Total, 191,118

About 200,000 of these people have come, therefore, to the United States in less than a quarter of a century ; and as their own country is no longer capable of furnishing, to a large proportion of its inhabitants, even the simple elements of food upon which they thrive, it is to be feared that their immigration to America will be greatly increased unless some effective means be found to check it. If 200,000 or even half a million Mongolians were distributed over the entire country, their presence, however baleful industrially, or morally obnoxious, would scarcely be made a cause of national complaint. But less than one thousand of the total number who have arrived at San Francisco, have come eastward. They remain on the Pacific Coast, and they have slipped in between the white laborer and his daily bread. It is easy enough for residents in States not infected by Mongolianism to apply to the immigration from China, the broad principles which we are accustomed to apply to immigration from Europe. It is a graceful thing on our part to say that all the nations of the earth are welcome to our shores, to share with us the beneficence of our free institutions, and to dissolve themselves among us in our common nationhood. The Chinese, however, do not respond to this invitation. They do not come to us as fellow-citizens, they come as pickpockets. They do not come to dissolve themselves among us and lose their national identity in adopting ours. They do not come to stay. They come as marauders, not with arms in their hands or open cries of rapine, but with the unanimous determination to take what they can get, by fair means or foul, for the sole purpose of carrying it back with them living, or having it sent back with their bones. Any comparison between them and European immigrants is worse than absurd. The Irishman, the German, the Swede, come to us with family and affection ; they abandon their native lands utterly, and seek among us a final home in which they gladly take up the burdens of American citizenship, and in which their children shall be born with this for their proudest heritage. They come to us in heart Americans ; they adopt our customs, joyfully submit to our laws, bear arms in support of our institutions, pay their assessed proportion of the cost of our government, and bring us too the brawn and brain which have added untold millions annually to our national wealth. They bring us the finest skill in the mechanical trades, the skill whose exquisite art provokes the admiration of the old world in the Paris Exhibition ; they bring the prudent agricultural habits which are turning our prairies into golden grain ; they bring the moral intrepidity and muscular strength which are pushing civilization all along our outposts ; they have filled our armies again and again, and their ashes are fertilizing the soil of every American battlefield. They are Christians ; their morals are our

morals; they are, as a rule, modest, chaste people, devoted to family unity, and heirs of the moral ethics upon which our civilization rests. We and they are of common origin, common inclinations, common hope. To say then that we should look upon the coming of the Chinese in the same spirit as we welcome the Europeans, is to ask the impossible. The Chinese are pagans. Is it our duty to convert them? Yes, if they will be converted, but they will not. Their most intelligent leaders deride Christianity, and are as ready as the most ignorant and brutal to persecute and maltreat its representatives. They are unclean, indescribably unchaste, intolerably dirty; shall we not reform them? If it were possible, but it is not. They despise our customs as they do our language and manners, and religion. They will learn nothing from us except our vices, and it would be merciful to prevent their adding ours to theirs. Moreover, the laws of nature, which, in this instance, is the law of God, gives to every people, as to every man, the right of self-preservation. It is above all other laws, and excludes as duties everything not consistent with itself. If Chinese immigration to the United States is to go on unchecked on this side the Pacific, and is to be stimulated by famine on the other, who shall say at what time the struggle for existence will begin in the Mississippi Valley between Caucasian and Mongolian? Look at this table:

| | Area in sq. m. | Population. |
|----------------------|----------------|-------------------------|
| United States, . . . | 3,603,844 | 38,115,641 ¹ |
| China, . . . | 3,929,627 | 425,000,000 |

With a superficial area little exceeding our own, China has been sustaining a population ten times greater, and the soil has become exhausted. The "golden gate" of the American republic, with its imaginary splendor, lies open; toward it the teeming tide sets from a famishing land, and when shall its ebb appear?² If the workingmen of California are driven to distress by less than a fifth of a million of these invaders, who add nothing to the State and take much from it, how shall they be able to submit to the overwhelming misfortunes which a million of Chinese shall impose in the next generation? The blatant and vulgar Kearney, whose speeches in the East have produced only amusement or disgust, is an evidence of the intense indignation felt on the Pacific Coast towards the Chinese, an indignation which is not born of Knownothingism but of strenuous necessity, the indignation a father feels toward the robber who has snatched the bread from him and his children. Kearney has created no enthusiasm in the East, because our work-

¹ Census of 1870.

² This social and economic problem is ably discussed in a recent number of the *North American Review*, by M. J. Dee.

ing people do not appreciate the exceptional and local conditions out of which Kearney has risen, the exponent of a deep and dangerous feeling, which, if not calmed by wise counsel and soothed away by judicious legislation, may yet appal the entire nation, and write a bloody chapter in our national history. For men will fight for bread; and the cry, "The Chinese must go!" is perhaps the forerunner of a cruel event. It is clearly the duty of the national government to take this question under advisement. The treaty with China should be so amended as to put an effectual check upon the exodus from that country to this. The presence in Washington of an embassy from the celestial capital ought to hasten negotiations for the purpose of relieving the Pacific Coast of its already too great a load. One of the members of the embassy has stated that a Chinaman can live on eight cents a day. Our own workingman must come down to that, with his family, in order to compete with the Mongolian in the lowest ranks of labor. The contest is too unequal for contemplation. On such an income, the American and his family would starve. But there is a great danger that before consenting to this, he would try to kill the adversary who was killing his children.

Another irritating factor in the industrial problem is the competition of convict with free labor. In nearly all the large penitentiaries of the country the State leases to contractors numbers of convicts for the carrying on of manual labor, the principal articles thus made being boots and shoes, clothing, chairs, tinware, boxes, hats and caps, gloves, etc., and in many localities, gangs are engaged in cutting and dressing stone, or in making brick. Although in no part of the country is the number of convicts thus made competitors of free workmen very great, the fact that the State is a party to the principle of such competition, produces keen discontent, and furnishes demagogues with arguments against conservative government. For it is apparent that such competition is grossly unjust to the free workmen. By general taxation, the State feeds, clothes, and lodges the convict; the free workman contributing his share directly or indirectly. The penitentiary can afford to rent the convict's labor for a much smaller sum, therefore, than will support the free workman, who must feed, clothe, and lodge himself and his family. The effect of the competition is to cut prices on certain lines of manufactured goods so low as to compel manufacturers employing only free labor to reduce wages almost to the convict prices; almost, because convict-made goods never command, when known, the same prices as those made by free workmen. It would be clearly improper to keep convicts idle; indeed, it is the duty of the State to teach them habits of industry, by which, after enlargement, they may be able

honestly to support themselves. But to help the man who has broken the laws, the State has no right to injure the man who has been obedient to them. The convict, with no family to provide for, and himself supported by the public, must not be made the competitor of the honest, law-abiding, and industrious working-man, who has no means of sustaining himself and his family except by selling his skill in the labor market. They do this better in France. There are fifty-four trades carried on in the prisons of Paris. A contractor-general buys the labor of the prisoners, and lets it to sub-contractors. The tariff of wages fixed by the government, and accepted by the contractor, is precisely the same as that of free workmen. The contractors feed and clothe the prisoners.¹

How does the condition of workingmen in the United States compare with the condition of workingmen in Europe? The answer to this question can best be found in an official document of the United States, *Young's Labor Report*. A portion of the volume is devoted to reports by the United States consuls and consular agents in various parts of the continent, who were requested to describe the habits, homes, domestic life and general character of the working classes in the localities in which they were respectively located, and with these reports are contributions or excerpts from other writers on the same subject.

Mr. J. S. Stanley James, author of an essay "On the Condition of the Working Classes of England," says:

"The social position of Gurth, who with the badge of serfdom, a brass collar round his neck, tended the service of Cedric the Saxon, was certainly strongly defined by law and custom. Still, Gurth had certain rights, and Cedric acknowledged obligations to his serf. In this age of 'contract,' it is certain that the emancipated farm laborer of England has, during the last half century, in a material point of view, been less prosperous than his Saxon forefathers. . . . The riches of England have increased yearly, but during the present century, the condition of the farm laborers has yearly become more miserable. . . . Year by year, the accumulation of real estate increased. The small proprietors, men who owned and farmed their own land, became less and less. The number of landowners became fewer, but the number of laborers for hire greatly increased. Three great causes may be assigned for the present miserable condition of the English farm laborer. The English land system; the system of poor law relief; and the great local increase of population. Until the land laws, and the tenure on which land is rented in England are altered, the condition of the farm laborer can never be materially benefited. The majority of the farms in England are only let on yearly terms, renewable from year to year. The same family may have lived on one farm for generations, paying out of the reward of their labor, exorbitant rents to the owners of the land. During these years they have not been allowed to carry a gun, to throw a fish-line, or to snare a rabbit on their farms, without the permission of their landlords. They have voted at elections for the nominee of their landlords; they have supplied recruits for the 'Germany' troop raised on the estate. A day comes, perchance, when a descendant of such ancestors, more intelligent or self-willed, refuses to be led by the nose by the steward or bailiff. He has an opinion of his own, and at the county election votes against 'my lord's' or 'the squire's' candidate. Next rent-day

¹ M. Jules Simons, quoted in *Young's Labor Report*, p. 480.

comes, and he whose ancestors have, perhaps, erected every building on the farm, have converted barren wastes into fertile fields, and have paid their landlord a heavy rent for that privilege—why, this ridiculous fellow, who dared to have a will of his own, is turned out of the home of his fathers, to seek another as he may. . . .

"The poor laws of England are a model of incompetency. According to the system of parochial and non-parochial districts, and the complication of local authorities, the poor are only entitled to relief within the immediate district in which they were born. As the wages of a farm laborer have always been kept down to the point of bare subsistence for himself and his family, the laying by of any fund for his support when out of work, or in old age, being impossible, he is then compelled to apply for relief. In consequence of these laws laborers remain all their lives, in a district where labor is overstocked and wages low, hereditary paupers; they improvidently marry, and bequeath that heritage to their children. . . .

"The third great cause of the miserable condition of the English farm laborer arises in a great measure out of the second. The operation of the poor laws has prevented the migration of this class of labor to other parts of England where it would be better paid. . . . This excess of population over food, of labor over capital, is in absence of a check,—such as war, pestilence, famine, or emigration,—an evil impossible to be mitigated, an irrevocable law of nature. . . . Yearly the population is increasing, each unit reducing by his competition the reward of his own labor and that of his fellows.

. . . . "A great deal has been written about 'merry England,' but the truth is that England is not merry, and her laborers have indeed little cause to be so. The cottages in which they live, which are such a pleasant adjunct to the landscape, are in too many instances hovels, in which the employers would not stable their horses; hovels without ventilation, drainage, or the surroundings necessary for ordinary decency; hovels which have bred a race of men who from want of domestic comfort, spend every spare hour in the pothouse, and who have nothing to look forward to but to be buried in a pauper's grave; hovels which have bred a race of women whose maidenly modesty vanished unborn in consequence of the scenes they were obliged to witness through the want of proper sleeping accommodations. No matter what wages the men may obtain, their cottage accommodations will keep them depraved and miserable. This want of decent cottages arises in a great measure from the law of primogeniture and entail. . . .

"In 1871 the average wages of English farm laborers was twelve shillings per week. . . . On such pay it was impossible for a married man to provide proper food for himself and family; meat was a rarity to be tasted once or twice a year; a little bacon might, perhaps, be indulged in once a week; for the rest of the time dry bread was the chief fare."

Let the reader turn from this picture to that drawn by Right Rev. John Ireland in his Catholic colonies in Minnesota, which will be found in the part of this article relating to emigration and colonization.

Mr. William Morris, publisher of a paper in Swindon, England, says:

. . . . "The wages paid the agricultural laborer made him a pauper. In Swindon they had one pauper to every forty-three of the population. In Bishopstone, ten miles off, they had one pauper to every ten of the population." . . .

In the same town "the cost of five persons in the workhouse is one dollar and a half per week, or more than double what an ordinary laborer would have to maintain his family with from his wages, when out of the house and in full work!"

The American consul at Glasgow sends this statement:

"The condition of the laboring men of this city cannot be fully understood without a glance at their houses. In this respect, perhaps more than in any other, is the greatest contrast presented between the British and the American mechanic. Home comforts, in the American sense, are but little known to the laboring man in Glasgow, living for the most part in great tenement buildings, where ten or a dozen, sometimes twenty or thirty families occupy a single tenement; each family possessed of but one, or, at most, two ill-ventilated, dreary, dirty rooms. The official statistics upon this subject are startling."

An official report is quoted showing that of 82,000 families comprising the city, upwards of 60,000 were housed in dwellings of one and two apartments each! Dr. Griffiths, health officer for Sheffield, states that in his borough "one room frequently serves the three-fold purpose of bed-room, dwelling-room, and work-room." At the risk of severely shocking the reader, but for the purpose of making thorough the comparison of the condition of American and British workingmen, the following extract is taken from a report on the sanitary condition of Liverpool, by Dr. Parkes and Dr. Sanderson.

... "It is no doubt from the smallness and precariousness of the earnings of unskilled industry that so many families live in the single rooms of sublet houses, and thus perpetuate their miserable condition in the training and bringing up of their children. It may be a question whether this condition of their homes promotes the vice of drunkenness, or whether drunkenness itself be the primary and originating cause of that thriftless improvidence which leads to poverty and want. But there is another phase of the habits engendered by the single-room tenements of sublet houses which is not without interest in all future measures for the education and improvement of the people. In sixty-two instances adult sons and daughters slept in the same room with their parents, and in three instances in the same bed. In one hundred and fifty-two instances adult daughters slept in the same room, and, in fifty-six instances, in the same bed with their parents. In two hundred and fourteen instances, adult sons slept in the same room, and, in one hundred and fifty-eight instances, in the same bed with their mothers. In thirty-seven instances adult daughters slept in the same room, and in twenty-seven instances in the same bed with their fathers. In fifty-nine instances, the mother with her adult sons and daughters slept in the same room, and, in twenty-seven instances, in the same bed together. In twelve instances the father, with his adult sons and daughters, slept in the same room, and in six instances, in the same bed together." ...

This is too sickening, too revolting, to be continued. If so monstrous a condition exists in any part of the United States, neither the statistician nor the moralist has found it.

Mr. J. S. Stanley James, writing of "mechanics and skilled tradesmen," says: "English mechanics do not receive such high wages as miners or ironworkers. Still their work being more regular, and there being less risk to life, they are certainly materially better off than any other class of English workers. . . . As a rule, however, I find that wages of mechanics in the Eastern States (United States) and large cities generally, are 100 per cent. higher than in England, and the cost of living does not increase proportionately." This is an important and suggestive statement. It was written in 1874, but the lapse of time has not impaired its value.

Wages in the United States have suffered little material altera-

tion in these four years, and the dulness in many kinds of business in Great Britain fully equals, if it does not surpass the worst period in the United States.

If extracts were made from consular and other reports on the condition of the working people of the continent of Europe, the same comparative results would be obtained. It is an undeniable fact, admitted throughout the entire civilized world, that in the United States, labor of every kind is better paid than in any part of Europe; that the laborer enjoys social independence, political independence, and home comforts such as are wholly unknown to the same class elsewhere; and while, for the reasons previously enumerated, American workingmen are suffering more or less distress at the present time, it must be clear to the intelligent and thoughtful among them, that their condition, when they can get employment, is one to be envied by the wretched toilers of the rich fields and the busy factories of England, Scotland, Ireland, and the European continent.

But what means exist for the assistance of those to whom the diversities of private enterprise furnish no employment?

First, there is the government. Its duties clearly are—

To reduce its running expenses to a minimum in order to reduce to a minimum the burden of taxation. It is not too much to say, that fully twice as many persons are paid for doing the business of the American government, national, state, and municipal, as are necessary. Government employees do less work and receive proportionately more pay, than any other class of laborers.

To undertake necessary public works. This, in such a period, would not only be humane, it would be sagacious. Labor is cheap; the government would get the benefit of that. The people need the money which such enterprises would put into circulation; workmen would get the benefit of that.

It is urged that one of the duties of the government at this time is to take possession of and run the railroads. That their management has had much to do with intensifying the general distress, is shown by the speed with which they were built, and the immorality which has characterized their competition. The following table exhibits the "delirium" with which they were constructed.

| Year. | Miles of railroad. |
|-----------------|--------------------|
| 1867, | 39,276 |
| 1868, | 42,255 |
| 1869, | 47,208 |
| 1870, | 52,898 |
| 1871, | 60,568 |
| 1872, | 66,735 |
| 1873, | 70,784 |
| 1874, | 72,695 |
| 1875, | 74,613 |
| 1876, | 77,470 |

The speculative increase in construction extends over the years from 1869 to 1873, inclusive, during which nearly 30,000 miles were built, not because they were needed, but in the hope that they would insure sudden wealth to audacious capital. Of this Mr. Nimrod says: "The extraordinary amount of railroad mileage constructed from 1869 to 1873, was largely speculative. During that period railroads were constructed in various parts of the country, not for the purpose of meeting any existing commercial demand, but with a view to prospective traffic, and upon speculative principles generally. This overbuilding of railroads was one of the most potent influences in throwing the employment of capital out of joint with the legitimate demands of commerce." Of the immorality of their management, Mr. Charles Francis Adams, Jr., says: "Lawlessness and violence among themselves, the continual effort of each member to protect itself and to secure the advantage over others, have, as they usually do, bred a general spirit of distrust, bad faith, and cunning, until railroad officials have become hardly better than a race of horse-jockeys on a large scale." The cut-throat competition of the leading lines, in consequence of which rates were reduced below actual cost, made it necessary to tax the employees in order to balance the books. Wages were lowered repeatedly, until, at last, the strain proved too great to bear, and the great strike of a year ago, with its lamentable incidents of bloodshed and arson, was the direct result. There is nothing to prevent those gigantic corporations from repeating experiments so hazardous, except fear of the trades unions. Legislation intended to regulate a tariff of freight and passenger transportation, has been attempted in several of the States, with only partial success. The railroad problem is, next to that of adjusting the productive capacity of the country to the reduced demand, the most complicated. An English publicist says that the "state must control the railroads, or the railroads will control the state." It is scarcely to be doubted that the railroads of the United States control the state at the present time, and the proposition that the government buy and operate the roads, is not likely to receive any serious attention in Congress. These corporations enjoy an influence there which is ample to insure them uninterrupted license.

Emigration from the overcrowded cities and distressed manufacturing districts, to the farms of the West and Northwest, commends itself so forcibly as a partial remedy for the labor troubles, as to make discussion of it unnecessary. The immense grants of Western lands to railroads, and the high price at which some of these corporations have held them, have diminished what ought to have been a constant migration westward; but a recent decision by the Secretary of the Interior, unless set aside by the courts,

will throw a large quantity of the best farming land in the country open to the public under the terms of the homestead law. Mr. Schurz has decided that all the lands granted by Congress to the Pacific railroads and not sold by them within three years after the completion of the roads, are open to pre-emption and private purchase, at the government rate of \$1.25 per acre. Up in Minnesota, in the diocese of Bishop Ireland, the colonization plan has been tried with the best results. A single extract from the official circular of the Catholic Colonization Bureau of St. Paul, will illustrate the condition of the farming colonists.

"Thoroughly acquainted with the Catholic settlements in Minnesota, we cannot call to mind a case where a hard-working, industrious, sober man failed to make a comfortable home for his family. We know of many cases where such a man met with reverses, lost his crop, his cattle, his horses; but never a case where a man met his reverses with a brave heart and trust in God, that he did not overcome them, and come out of the battle a better and prouder man.

"Let a poor man in the city find his all swept away from him, and what does he do? He slinks into its alleys and lanes, his pleasant, decent rooms are changed for one foul room in a tenement house, from whence, after a little while, charity carries him to a pauper's grave.

"We have spoken of the general prosperity of our Catholic settlements in Minnesota, and we have not to travel far from its capital to find some of them—only into the adjoining county, Dakota, one of the very finest in the State.

"Fully two-thirds of the lands of the county are owned (mind, owned), by Catholic settlers, Irish and German.

"Some twenty-five years ago, a few poor Irishmen settled in the timber in this county. It was very generally supposed, at that time, that people could not live on a prairie in Minnesota; but by and by those who had settled in Dakota County found out their mistake, and commenced making claims on the adjoining prairie, Rosemount prairie, to-day the garden of Minnesota.

"But not before Hugh Derham, of the County Kildare, Ireland, now the Honorable Hugh Derham, came along and put up his shanty on the prairie. 'I had seven hundred dollars,' he said to us some time ago, 'when I came on here; oxen were dear then, and when I had a yoke bought, together with a cow, and my shanty up, I had little or none of the money left. But I went to work, broke up all the land I could, got seed, put in my first crop, and lost every kernel of it.'

"To-day this man owns four hundred acres of improved land, in a circle round his house. Fifty dollars an acre would be a low value to put on his land. Some four years ago his neighbor, a man of the name of Ennis, bought one hundred and twenty acres of land adjoining, for something like ten thousand dollars.

"When Hugh Derham settled here there was not a railroad nearer than two hundred miles of him, now passengers on the Milwaukee and St. Paul Railroad, passing within half a mile in front of his house, point from the windows of the cars to his place, as a model home of a thrifty farmer.

"His handsome two-story frame house stands embowered in the orchard and shade trees sturdy Hugh Derham planted with his own hands; his barn alone cost three thousand dollars; he has flocks of sheep, herds of cattle, and horses as he requires them; and he has a good wife, who assisted him in his early struggles, healthy, fresh and handsome still. He has had his eldest daughter at a convent school, and bought for her last year a five hundred dollar piano. It is said that he has some ten thousand dollars loaned out at interest.

"Now, is Hugh Derham's an exceptional case?

"If you came along, and we were inclined to brag, and show you a specimen of our

Catholic farmers in Minnesota, we would bring you direct to Hugh Derham, not for his herds, and stock, and well-filled granary—he is surpassed by many of our farmers in all these—but for the look of respectable thriftiness all around him. There is his next neighbor, William Murphy, another well-to-do, respectable farmer, not perhaps as well off as Derham, but still able to bear last year a loss of five thousand dollars by fire, and to make no poor mouth about it. Another neighbor, Michael Johnson, a prosperous man, better still, a high-spirited, fine fellow, and an earnest worker in the cause of temperance. Another neighbor, Tom Hiland, as rich a man as Derham. In the next township, the Bennetts—three or four brothers that a poor but good, intelligent, widowed mother, with much struggling, managed to bring West, and locate on government land. These brothers now farm five times as much land as Derham, and raise five times as much wheat.”

But no efficacy can be given to immigration and colonization as a partial remedy for the labor troubles, without organization. The man out of employment has not the means to transport his family or to purchase farm implements, or to build even the rudest shelter. He must be helped. In Minnesota, Bishop Ireland has accomplished so much, not by vain words or prismatic promises, but by actually aiding with money, those who have shown the disposition and the capacity to deserve assistance, to turn it to account, and in time, to pay it back to the colonization fund. Similar efforts are being attempted by Catholic colonization societies in Kansas and Missouri. But what is needed to arouse the interest of the laboring class in the scheme of colonization, is the formation of a national society, with headquarters at the seaboard, to assist emigrants out of the cities to the West, and help them when they get there, and to receive, guide, and assist immigrants arriving from Europe, through the cities and away from them to the farming colonies. It is much to be lamented that such a society as this has not been organized.

In conclusion we name Christianity as the final, as it is the most effective remedy for the uneasy condition of the country. It inspires men with the great industrial virtues, economy, contentment, charity, honesty, against the foul fiend communism, the fiend which would destroy on the pretence of building up. It raises the invincible shield of honesty. It says to man, “Thou shalt not steal;” and the order is binding on the capitalist and on the laborer. It commands those who have much to be charitable; those who have little to be economical; those who have less to cultivate contentment. But upon all it lays the imperative order of honesty; and this shield, which it thrusts between communism and society, alone can be depended upon to preserve the American nation from anarchy and revolution.

BOOK NOTICES.

ELEMENTS OF ECCLESIASTICAL LAW. Compiled with reference to the Syllabus, the Const. "Apostolicæ Sedis" of Pope Pius IX., the Council of the Vatican, and the latest decisions of the Roman Congregations. Adapted especially to the discipline of the Church in the United States. By *Rev. S. B. Smith, D D*, formerly Professor of Canon Law. Author of "Notes," etc. Second edition, revised and enlarged. New York: Benziger Brothers. 1878. Royal 8vo., pp. 475.

THIS is the second edition of a work, of which we gave some account in a former number of the *Review*. The additions indicated on the title-page, consist chiefly of some supplementary notes. Even in the first edition the work had the "imprimatur" of the author's ordinary, Rt. Rev. Dr. Corrigan, and also of Cardinal McCloskey. It had also the approbation of more than a dozen of our bishops from various parts of the country. With such vouchers, Dr. Smith's book could not fail to command respect and win its way to favor amongst ecclesiastical students. Dr. Smith certainly deserves praise for the useful, toilsome labor he has undertaken of compiling from many and learned sources, these "Elements of Canon Law," and giving them in a condensed form to our American ecclesiastical youth. He treads chiefly in the footsteps of such modern writers as Craisson, Soglia, Bouix, and Philipps, but also avails himself of the copious stores of somewhat older canonists, Devoti, Bouvier, Ferraris, Benedict XIV., Reiffenstuel, and others. The writer's patience in wading through these details is very commendable. Many of them are dry, and will have no practical use for American readers, but they will interest and please the student who wishes to know how church government is—or ought to be—carried on in the Old World and in Catholic countries, if any still remain entitled to that name. There are many peoples who have remained Catholic, but, thanks to the insidious working of Freemasonry, their government has passed from Catholic into infidel hands, and they are ruled by unprincipled arbitrary chiefs, under whom canon law can have no more place, than it would have under Decius, Diocletian, or Frederick Barbarossa. Moreover, the style and temper of this book are quite an improvement on the author's first essay as a canonist, entitled "Notes on the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore."

We have heard the wish expressed, and even the suggestion made, that Dr. Smith's book should be introduced into our seminaries as a text-book. It is certainly most desirable, that we should have a manual or compendium of canon law, written expressly for our seminaries, and in which the general principles of Church law should be set forth, with an explanation of their full extent or partial limitation, when applied to the peculiar circumstances of the American Church. But does Dr. Smith's book answer this purpose? Does it prove, on examination, to be the text-book which has been so long a *desideratum*? With all due respect to the author's learning and laborious diligence as a compiler, we fear that the answer must be in the negative. In the first place, the book is written in English. And this is a fatal objection. Latin is the language of the Catholic Church, and is likewise, or should be, the language of our schools and of our text-books. One innovation begets another, and if, to-day, we introduce an English text-book for canon law, to-morrow we shall have another for dogmatic or moral theology. And the day may come when the knowledge imparted in our ecclesi-

astical Latin schools will be limited to that slender modicum, which will barely prevent the Missal and Breviary from being absolutely an unknown tongue for the clergy. Latin is pre-eminently the language of the Holy Roman Church, which is "mistress and mother of all other churches," and to her we owe, that after so many centuries, it not only survives, but flourishes, more of a living than a dead language. But for her it would have been swept out of existence as thoroughly as the Gothic and the "Old Prussian;" and its remains, like theirs, would furnish only a subject of research to the philological student. Our youth, lay and clerical, should be taught not only to learn, but to reverence and love the Latin tongue for many reasons, but principally because it is the language of our Holy Mother, the Church. Outside of the Church, the wicked spirit of heresy prompts her enemies to hate the language for this very reason. This is no random assertion, but proof could be given if necessary. It is true not only of the countries that were swallowed up in Luther's revolt against Rome, but even of so-called Catholic countries, Italy, France, Spain, and others where infidelity or poorly disguised atheism has succeeded at last in fixing its yoke on the neck of thoroughly Catholic nations.

In the second place, these "Elements," even if compiled in Latin, before being adopted as a text-book in our colleges and seminaries, would have to be re-written or at least carefully corrected. What is wanted most in a text-book is, not mere erudition nor elaborate diligence in amassing materials from various sources, but strict accuracy in laying down the law, and, in disputed points, exactness in exposing the true state of the question. A text-book of theology or of canon law, must be like our catechisms, or popular summaries of Christian doctrine; exactness of statement is the first and most-essential requisite, though not the only one. Now, it cannot be said of the book under consideration, that it is always accurate and exact in its statements. And what is more important is, that much of this inaccuracy shows itself precisely on those points, where priests, from human, interested motives, are most liable to be led into error, and where theoretical error may lead practically to the most unhappy results.

Take, for example, what Dr. Smith says about the question, whether irremovability (*inamovibilitas*) is essential in order that one may be truly and really a parish priest. We give the exact words of his text (*Elements*, p. 373).

"The question is controverted. The *negative* is thus advocated by Bouix (here follows Bouix's argument). . . . The *affirmative* is maintained by eminent canonists. Thus, according to Cardinal Soglia, parish priests are, 'presbyteri quibus assidua et perpetua animarum cura tradita est,' and according to Ferraris, they are 'rectores stabiles, perpetui.'"

A kindred question recurs on p. 374, which we append in the author's own words:

"Is the removability of parish priests contrary to canon law? Or does the exercise of the *cura animarum* by priests *amovibiles ad nutum* conflict with the sacred canons or the *jus commune*?"

"Answer. Here again there are two opinions. The *negative* is maintained by Bouix. . . . The *affirmative*, namely, that the removability of parish priests, even (?) *ad nutum Episcopi*, is contrary to the *jus commune*, is advocated by Leurenus, Ferraris, Soglia, and others."

Now, we venture to say, without hesitation, that here not only the state of the question is not properly laid down, but that the opinions of Ferraris and Soglia, in this connection, are not correctly represented to

the reader. Ferraris and Soglia do not undertake to treat any such question, either *pro* or *contra*. They merely reproduce the words of the Council of Trent, or their substance, but are as far from entering into the question of the "essential irremovability" of parish priests, as Aristotle or Plutarch in any of their works that have come down to us. Cardinal Soglia distinctly recognizes the existence of removable (*amovibiles*) parish priests almost on the same page as that whence Dr. Smith draws his quotation. For, speaking of the duty of saying mass for one's parishioners on Sundays and festivals, he says, "that *all* parish priests are bound by this obligation," whether they be irremovable or removable parish priests (*sive perpetui sive amovibiles parochi sint*). We quote from the edition of Bois-le-Duc (*Boscoduci*), in Brabant, 1857, tom. ii., p. 53. After this decided expression of opinion, how is it possible, that Cardinal Soglia should discuss the question, whether irremovability is essential to the parochial office, and sustain the affirmative side? Cardinal Soglia could not be guilty of such absurdity, nor is he, in point of fact, as any one may readily see by consulting his book.

In looking cursorily over Ferraris's edition (of the *Benedictines of Monte Cassino*) printed in Naples, in 1874 (sub. *Parochia, Parochus*), we do not find the words alleged, "rectores stabiles, perpetui." But we are willing to admit them on Dr. Smith's authority. What are they but a loose form of the Tridentine formula, "perpetuum peculiaremque parochum?" But we have read enough of Ferraris to know that nowhere does he make it a point, or insist on it, that the parish priest is essentially *ex natura rei* or *vi juris* irremovable. We have no copy of Leurenus, but we feel sure the same will be found true of him also, viz., that he does not stand up for the affirmative side, perhaps does not even mention the question, but merely repeats, with more or less fulness, the Tridentine formula, "perpetuum peculiaremque parochum." If every canonist who quotes the Tridentine decree is to be pressed into service, to swell the ranks of those who advocate the essential irremovability of parish priests, to the names of Soglia and Ferraris, Dr. Smith with equal justice might have added the names of a hundred other writers.

Let us look at the matter from a more general point of view. Not only canonists of the first rank, or of high standing, such as Barbosa, Fagnanus, Giralduus (who wrote a large work on the special subject of parish priests), Bouix, Soglia, and a host of others, whom to name would tire the reader's patience, admit the existence of removable parish priests (*parochi amovibiles*), but, what is far more to the point, the Church recognizes them. This is evident, not only from her tacit approbation of the authors mentioned, but from her positive declarations. These may be found in the judicial decisions of her Roman "Congregations," especially of the "Congregatio Sacri Concilii." If, then, the Holy See, the source of all ecclesiastical jurisdiction, recognizes (not tolerates, but approves) the existence of removable parish priests, in the name of common sense, how is it possible that any Catholic canonist could seriously entertain the question, "whether parish priests are *ex natura rei* irremovable," or "whether their removability is contrary to canon law?" Canonists, we admit, like rubricists and professional "masters of ceremonies," are tenaciously fond of certain opinions, which may degenerate into absurdities. Ignorant outsiders, like ourselves, who have no sympathy with their peculiar hobbies, may laugh at them, may condemn, pity, or charitably excuse them. But it would be taking an unpardonable liberty, if we ventured to assert or even to suspect that such men were capable of asserting what is in open contradiction with the doctrine or received discipline of the Church.

Dr. Smith has, therefore (unintentionally, we are sure, but from want of due reflection), done a real injustice to Cardinal Soglia, and the other writers whom he represents as patrons and upholders of the essential irremovability of parish priests. If there ever had existed in the Church such a thing as essential irremovability of these functionaries—which, of course, we do not admit—it must have been so in virtue of the law-making power of the Church. It was this power, and this alone, that could call into existence such an office, and assign its duties, rights, privileges, and limits. If among these rights and privileges, anciently conferred, had been amongst others that of perpetuity, from the legislation of to-day it would clearly follow that that right or privilege has been withdrawn. For, now the law-making power of the Church expressly recognizes "*parochos ad nutum amovibiles*." It stands to reason, therefore, that such law, if it ever existed, must have been abrogated, and that the contrary is now the law of the Church. This would be to some extent falling back on the old maxim of Roman law, "*Quod placuit principi, legis habet vigorem*," "The will of the ruler has the force of law." But no such subterfuge is needed. Church law is widely different from that of imperial Rome; and the Pope, who is the Father and Head of the Church, not her arbitrary lord and master, is always foremost in observing her canons. Indeed, this has been always one of the legitimate boasts of the Holy See from the earliest times, that she leads the way as much in observing church law, as in enforcing its observance. "*Custodes canonum*" was one of the titles which the early Popes not only claimed, but by unremitting, fearless guardianship of the sacred canons, secured for the incumbents of Peter's princely See.

Instead of the *dictum*, "*Quod principi placuit, etc.*," we prefer to appeal to another well-known and venerable maxim of Roman and of Church law. "*Ejus est legem interpretari, cujus est condere*." "To him to whom belongs the right of framing laws, belongs also the right of authoritatively interpreting such laws." Since, therefore, the Roman Pontiff, who is theoretically and practically the source of Church law, recognizes the existence of *parochi amovibiles ad nutum*, we may regard such recognition as an interpretation of the Tridentine law (supposing it to go so far as is claimed for it), an authoritative explanation, that *parochi perpetui* and *parochi amovibiles*, though different terms, are not contradictory, nor do they necessarily exclude each other, but may both coexist, as they do, in the Church.

The habitual action of Rome and her Pontiff in this regard is equivalent to an authoritative, judicial interpretation repeated scores or hundreds of times, and must be amply sufficient for all Catholics. And neither canonist nor theologian is required to go behind it, and add any further explanation. But it may be added gratuitously, that whatever difficulty may arise on this head, can only come from a misunderstanding of the true meaning and purpose of the Fathers of Trent. When in their decree (Sess. xxiv., Cap. 13, de Reform.), they used the words "*perpetuum peculiaremque parochum*," they were thinking as little of the "essential irremovability" of the parish priest, as they were of the present Russo-English troubles in Afghanistan. What they were thinking of was the practice they intended to condemn and abolish, viz., the practice of having in some churches clerical hirelings known as "*parochi conductitii*," who were only too often employed by religious bodies, monasteries, chapters, and other ecclesiastical corporations, and who were dismissed whenever a cheaper bidder offered himself for the place. It was to get rid of these "hireling, temporary" ministers in charge of souls, who were a scandal to the faithful and an

injury to religion, that the council insisted on the care of souls being intrusted to priests, whose constant, official business it should be to look after the parishioners committed to his care. Hence their adoption of the words "perpetuum peculiaremque."

Dr. Smith has quoted loosely, in general terms, and not always correctly, the words of Ferraris. We wish he had quoted *verbatim*, the following wholesome warnings of the same author (sub voce *Parochus*, Art. iii., Num. 17-20). They are applicable to all our clergy, who have charge of souls, by whatever name they are called.

"Parochi non possunt accipere aliquid a sponte dantibus pro administratione sacramentorum; possunt tamen accipere quod sponte pro *eleemosyna* offertur. (Sac. Congr. Concil., sub. die 5 Feb., 1593, apud Barbosam.)

"Unde Parochus nihil petere debet pro administratione Baptismi, nec antea investigare quid sibi donare velint. (Sac. Congr. Episcop. et Regular. in *Tropien*, 5 Junii, 1582.)

"Item Parochus nihil percipere potest pro matrimonio contrahendo. (Sac. Congr. Concil., 17 Martii, 1619.)

"Item Parochus pro publicationibus matrimoniorum et ordinum nihil exigere potest. . . . (Here follows leave to receive something for certificates.) Nec potest Parochus cogere parochianos ut deferant pro matrimonio contrahendo solita munuscula, ut ad haec respondit Sac. Congr. Ep. et Regular. apud Monacelli.")

These rules had been already laid down in the rubrics of the Roman Ritual, a book which our clergy are exhorted to read carefully at least once a year. (II. Plenary Counc. of Balt., No. 209.) Oh that its words were stamped reverently and indelibly in the hearts and memories of all our clergy engaged in the active duties of the holy ministry!

"Illud porro diligenter caveat (sacerdos), ne in sacramentorum administratione aliquid, quavis de causa vel occasione, directe vel INDIRECTE, exigit aut petat, sed ea gratis ministret, et ab omni simoniæ atque avaritiæ suspicione, nedum crimine, longissime absit. Si quid vero nomine eleemosynæ, aut devotionis studio, peracto jam sacramento, sponte a fidelibus offeratur, id licite pro consuetudine locorum accipere poterit, nisi Episcopo aliter videatur. (Rit. Rom. Romæ, 1750, p. 4.)"

If Dr. Smith had communicated to his readers these extracts from Ferraris and the *Rituale Romanum*, he never would have said, as he boldly does in the vernacular, on page 391, that among the "RIGHTS" of the parish priest is the right "to receive the honorary usually given by those who are married." How is it possible that, in the teeth of Church legislation, priests have these "rights?" Priests and higher officers in the government of the Church, ecclesiastical corporations, and religious bodies, whether of men or women, have a great deal of "human nature" in them, as a notorious humorist would say, or a good deal of "fallen Adam," as a theologian would prefer to express himself. We love to talk of our rights and privileges, but any talk of our duties, and the warnings of our Holy Mother, the Church, are not so acceptable. Yet, pleasant or unpleasant, it is the duty of a Catholic canonist or theologian to repeat them. Rights indeed! Priests have *no right* to claim an *honorarium* for baptisms, marriages, etc. They are forbidden to exact, to seek directly or indirectly, or even to *receive* any compensation (even when offered voluntarily) *ob administrationem sacramenti*; but they are empowered, simply allowed (by condescension on the part of the law-giving power of the Church) to receive what the faithful may choose to offer as an "almsgiving." Dr. Smith speaks of "rights." We have heard, to our disgust and horror, others speak of

these things as "dues." They know not or lose sight of the true teaching of the Catholic Church, which detests and reprobates Simon Magus as heartily, as she does Nestorius or Martin Luther.

The author again (p. 395), speaking of the "rights" of parish priests or "pastors," so called, says, "Where it is customary, pastors may receive—nay even *demand* from persons able to pay—the usual DUES, even for performing the ordinary funeral services, as given in the ritual, *i. e.*, without a mass, etc." That is to say, a priest has a "right" to exact, that any dead Catholic Christian, whose surviving friends or relatives may not choose to pay the priest's demand, shall be treated like dogs or heathens, and refused ecclesiastical burial. This is neither Christian theology nor Christian charity. Dr. Smith quotes one of his guides, Craisson; but it is ludicrous to see how Craisson makes out his point. It is well to remark beforehand, that the French government, having nationalized (which in plain Christian English means *stolen*) all the Church property in France, subsidizes the Church, sparingly, however, and tries to make her children help out the scanty State provision by the payment of fees, dues, etc. This compulsory payment may answer in France, where the Church, like the Calvinist Consistory or the Jewish Synagogue, is recognized simply as a piece of State machinery and is pensioned accordingly—not that the French Church submits, except under perpetual protest, to this State control—but it will not do to quote such precedents for our country, where all support of religion is based on the voluntary system. But we must not lose sight of M. Craisson and his logic.

In his *Manuale* (Num. 1426), we find the following paragraph:

"Parochi (inquit *Rituale Romanum*) . . . iis eleemosynis contenti sint quæ aut ex probata consuetudine dari solent, aut quas Ordinarius constituerit. Ergo parochi possunt aliquid legitime exigere pro officio sepulturæ, nempe quæ dari solent ex legitima consuetudine aut quæ Ordinarius constituerit."

The word *eleemosyna*, used purposely by the Ritual, is totally incompatible with the word "exigere" (to exact, demand), used by Craisson and Dr. Smith. In connexion with the offerings of the faithful, the latter word is not only void of sense (one might as well talk of the offerings exacted of travellers by a highwayman), but is a horrid, detestable word, and in the stereotyped language of the Church *piarum aurium offensivum*. The Roman Ritual is its own best interpreter; and on its pages the word and the thing are alike proscribed. Why did M. Craisson forget to copy the other words that immediately precede those he has quoted from the Ritual? The reason is plain enough. They would have ill-suited or rather defeated his purpose. Here they are:

"Caveant omnino parochi aliique sacerdotes, ne sepulturae vel exequiarum seu anniversarii mortuorum officii causa quidquid paciscantur aut tanquam pretium EXIGANT. Sed iis eleemosynis contenti sint," etc.

It was not without reason that the word *eleemosyna* was chosen by the Ritual. Its meaning is thus explained by the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore: "Eleemosynæ nomine intelligi non potest fixa quaedam summa a quovis exigenda; sed ea, quam quisque ratione habita suarum facultatum commodè dare potest" (in Nota ad Can. 386). Dr. Smith quotes these words, as a warning to bishops, on page 322 of his work. He might with equal propriety have quoted them as a wholesome caution for the second order of the clergy. In his other work, "Notes on the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore" (p. 317); Dr. Smith quotes the same words, but incorrectly attributes the "Note" to "the editor

of the *Baltimore Council*." This is not the case. To the writer's certain knowledge, that note was not written by the "editor," but formed part of the original draft, examined and approved by the Fathers of Baltimore. Any one who doubts this, may satisfy himself by turning to p. 131 of the printed "Libellus," which was distributed to the Bishops and Theologians at the beginning of the Council. The note will be found there *totidem verbis* under the Decree "Ut igitur," which was then No. 414, but now, somewhat changed, is numbered 386. Who the writer of the note may have been, is now immaterial. But it may be no harm to state, for the information of any one who desires to know the authorship of the note, that the writer of the note and decree, and indeed of the entire chapter, was an eminent theologian, Rev. Dr. Keogh, of Pittsburgh, now deceased, but who was never connected in any way with the "editing" of the Council. And since everything connected with the "Libellus" and the "Acta" of the Council has now passed into the domain of history, we betray no secret, violate no confidence in stating, as confirmatory of what has been previously said, that the beginning of Decree No. 422 in the original draft or "Libellus," prepared by the same theologian, agreed to by his fellow-theologians and warmly approved by Archbishop Spalding, was couched in the following terms:

"Consuetudinem quâ 'decendentibus non prius permittatur effodi sepultura, quam pro terra in qua sepeliendi sunt certum pretium ecclesiæ persolvatur,' jamdudum 'perversam et abolendam declaravit Romanus Pontifex Innocentius III.' (Cap. *Abolendæ* de sepulturis) clericisque mandavit 'ne quicquam omnino præsumerent EXIGERE hac de causa' (*Ibid.*). Concilium Generale Lateranense III., Alexandro III. Pontifice habitum, 'horribile nimis' esse jam dixerat 'ut pro sepulturis et EXEQUIS mortuorum aliquid EXIGATUR' (Cap. *Cum in Ecclesiæ corpore*, de Simonia) eandemque sententiam renovavit ejusdem nominis Concilium IV."

What subsequently happened to this decree, may be read on page lxxxi. of Murphy's edition of the Council, printed in 1868, though not reproduced in his latest and (for general use) best edition of 1877. If not adopted, its language and spirit were by no means disputed or condemned. As a matter of course they could not for a moment be questioned, since they are utterances of Roman Pontiffs and General Councils. They effectually dispose of the assertions of Dr. Smith and M. Craisson.

But does not the Roman Ritual mention something that is given "ex probata consuetudine" or fixed and determined by the ordinary (quæ *Ordinarius constituerit*)? Undoubtedly; but let us examine the meaning of these phrases. "Probata consuetudo" is only another phrase for "laudabilis consuetudo," a praiseworthy practice. And the very epithet shows that practice or usage is here meant, not custom in the legal sense of the term. This very remark is made, we think, though not in this connection, somewhere in his "Elements" by Dr. Smith himself, though we can no longer remember the place. As to the sense of the other words, "quæ Ordinarius constituerit," in the first place we may apply to them, by analogy, the rule which M. Craisson himself lays down in his "Manuale" (No. 1396). There are, he alleges, three cases in which offerings may become obligatory. First, when they arise from a pension or agreement (*pensione aut conventionne*); secondly, when they result from a legacy (*legato vel testamento*). It is pretty clear that in these two cases the proper name would be *debts*, not offerings. Thirdly, when the priest has no suitable means of support (con-

gruam sustentationem). But if we consider the last case more attentively, it will be found that it refers rather to the "obligatio dandi" on the part of the parishioner, than to the "jus exigendi" on the part of the parish priest. And if we had an accurate list of all those cases, in which Ordinaries have made this a subject of legislation, it would be found (we have no doubt) that their legislation lay not so much in the way of command or injunction, as of *limitation*, and that their provisions were intended, not as a strain on reluctant givers, but as checks, "ad coercendam clericorum cupiditatem"—an evil that the Church has been fighting from the first day of her existence.

We have allowed it to pass unquestioned, *argumenti causa*, that the words of the Ritual "quæ Ordinarius constituerit" refer to the "eleemosynæ" which are given (dari solent) "sepulturæ aut EXEQUIARUM causa." But there is no necessity to admit, and we do not admit, anything of the kind. They may, very well, and most probably have, reference only to the third thing mentioned, viz.: the "anniversarium mortuorum officium." As this is an extra service and includes a "Missa anniversaria pro defunctis," what is more proper than that it should be made to come under the head of that "eleemosyna," which may be claimed for Masses, and is therefore a legitimate subject for the legislation of the Ordinary? The "Sacred Congregation of the Council" has decided (by a decree of November 15th, 1698) that in the absence of local usage or synodal law the Bishop must decide in this matter, as he may think fit, "statuendam esse *per Episcopum* eleemosynam competentem *ejus arbitrio*." And the Council of Baltimore (Can. 369) after reciting the decision aforesaid, makes a practical application of it to this country by declaring that, as no general law can be framed on the subject, it shall be left to the decision of each Bishop to establish the "eleemosyna missæ" for his clergy (ut rerum adjunctis bene consideratis quantitate stipendii, quæ ipsis justa esse videtur, pro clero suo determinant). Who can fail to see the difference between an anniversary mass or office, and the rites of Christian burial? In celebrating the former, the priest is not acting from bounden duty *vi officii*, but is merely complying with the pious request of his parishioner, who asks as a favor what he has no right to claim; in the latter he performs a duty, to which his office binds him, and to which every Christian dying in the communion of the Church has an inherent right. For the former, since it is gratuitous, compensation may be received and (by sufferance rather than approval of the Church) even asked. For the latter, to ask, demand or exact payment, is (as Popes and Councils tell us) "wicked" and "too horrible to think of."

But will it be denied that offerings may become a matter of obligation or compulsion, and that recusants may be compelled to give them by the Bishop's court? This is asserted, formally and deliberately, by M. Craisson, in the third volume of his Manual (§ 5354). Here are his words:

"Hæ oblationes (the so-called, and miscalled, or rather misunderstood *jura stolæ*) initio erant voluntariæ sed temporis lapsu in laudabiles consuetudines abierunt, ita ut a Concilio Lateranensi IV. sancitum fuerit ut liberaliter quidem sacramenta cæteraque sacra officia administrentur, sed fideles tamen oblationes consuetas præstarent recusantesque ab Episcopis cogi possent, etc."—Vide Devoti, Lib. 2, tit. 17, § 6.

We cannot allow this to pass as a correct statement of Catholic doctrine or discipline. Still M. Craisson must not bear all the blame. He has done nothing but follow blindly in the footsteps of Devoti. Yet it was his duty as an author to examine the *authority* quoted by Devoti for his

statement. Had he done this, he would have found that the authority given warrants no such assertion. For Devoti's talents and worth we have the highest veneration, but we are bound to venerate truth and what may be called the "*sensus Ecclesiæ*" far more highly. Devoti, either from his own hasty reading misinterpreted the Lateran decree, on which professedly he rests his assertion; or, as too often happens, followed blindly some other author who had previously misinterpreted it. If this be the case, it would be an interesting matter to examine the progress of this blunder and trace it back to its first author. The authority given by Devoti to support this novelty in Canon Law (for in spite of custom or wicked usage it can never be anything else in the eyes of the Church) is the sixty-sixth Canon of the Fourth General Council of Lateran, or (as Devoti quotes it) the forty-second, because so numbered in the Codex Mazarinus, a manuscript as old as the Council itself. The canon reads thus:

"Ad Apostolicam audientiam frequenti relatione pervenit, quod quidam clerici pro exequiis mortuorum et benedictionibus nubentium et similibus pecuniam exigunt et extorquent; et, si forte cupiditati eorum non fuerit satisfactum, impedimenta fictitia fraudulenter opponunt. E contra vero quidam laici laudabilem consuetudinem erga sanctam Ecclesiam, pia devotione fidelium introductam, EX FERMENTO HAERETICÆ PRAVITATIS nituntur infringere sub praetextu canonice pietatis. Quapropter et pravas exactiones super his fieri prohibemus, et pias consuetudines praecipimus observari: statuentes ut libere conferantur ecclesiastica sacramenta, sed per Episcopum loci, veritate cognita, compe-scantur qui malitiose nituntur laudabilem consuetudinem immutare."—(Mansi's Collection of Councils, Venetiis, 1778, Tom. xxii, Col. 1054.)

Which may be translated as follows (We may remark beforehand, that the mention of the "Apostolic See," will be readily understood by all who know that when the Pope presides in person over a General Council, its decrees are issued in the Pontiff's name with the clause added, "*Approbante sacro et universali Concilio*," or words to that effect. This was done in the Fourth Council of Lateran, where Innocent III. presided, as well as in other Councils, and lately in the Council of the Vatican.):

"By frequent reports it has been brought to the knowledge of the Apostolic See, that some clergymen exact and extort money for funeral services, for the nuptial blessing, and for other things of the kind; and unless their greed be satisfied (by the parties who apply) they fraudulently bring forward fictitious impediments. And on the other hand some laymen, being imbued with the leaven of heresy, under pretext of pious observance of the canons, try to break down the laudable usage (of offerings) in regard to Holy Church, which has been introduced by the pious devotion of the faithful. Wherefore we forbid these wicked exactions and order that pious usages be maintained; decreeing hereby that the Sacraments of the Church shall be imparted gratuitously, but that all those who maliciously endeavor to change the (above mentioned) laudable usage shall, after judicial inquiry, be kept within bounds by the Bishop of the place."

Now let any after reading this decree compare with its words the conclusion based on them by Devoti and M. Craisson. Never was there seen a more pitiful and shameful case of *non sequitur*. The very heading of the canon shows its purpose, "*De eadem (sc. Simonia) circa CUPIDITATEM CLERICORUM*." Its main object was to restrain avarice and the sin of Simon on the part of the clergy. Hence they are commanded to administer the sacraments gratuitously, and all

attempts to exact or extort money for marriages, funerals, etc., are denounced as "wicked" and are strictly forbidden. Then incidentally another subject is introduced. The custom of free-will offerings on the part of the faithful after the administration of the sacraments has been regarded in every time as pious and praiseworthy. Some laymen of heretical tendencies protested against this custom and sought to do away with it. Their *pretext* was purity of religion and evangelical detachment from all worldly goods. But the real spirit that moved them was the spirit of heresy. They were Cathari (or Patarini), and like their modern namesakes hid and nursed a satanic pride under the garb of outward sanctity. They were possessed by an intense hatred of the Catholic priesthood, and one of their pet schemes was to defame and degrade the clergy by habitual slander and misrepresentation, a practice not unknown to those modern sectarians who have inherited their spirit no less than their name. When from fear of the civil government they were compelled to conceal their opinions, they would insinuate them under the form of a purer and more evangelical Catholicity; and if they could not injure the clergy to the full extent of their wishes, they sought at least to deprive them of the customary bounty of the faithful, by insidiously giving out that such offerings were unlawful, because contrary to the teaching of the Gospel. In opposition to these heretics and their wily insinuations, the Council affirms that the practice of giving such voluntary offerings is commendable and should be retained; and further enjoins on Bishops to have an eye on these heretics and punish them whenever their guilt shall be proven (*cognita rei veritate*). Now, in the name of common sense, what connection is there between this legislation and the conclusion based upon it by Devoti and his copyist, M. Craisson? They would have us believe that the Council has decreed, that any Catholic, good or bad, who may decline to make an offering for the funeral service, nuptial blessing, etc., may be *compelled* to give it by the Bishop's tribunal. This, however unintentional, is a perversion of the truth, and a gross calumny against that venerable Council, eulogized by the Fathers of Trent as the "Magnum Concilium Lateranense." Such case was never contemplated, never once mentioned by the Council of Lateran. It condemns, and orders Bishops, not to *compel* but to *restrain* and keep down (*compsescere*), not *Catholic* laymen but lay *heretics*, who maliciously (*i. e.*, out of hatred of the Church and her ministry) try to break up and do away with the commendable custom of *voluntary* offerings. And we must hear this wise and noble legislation condensed into the formula, as false as it is contemptible, "*Recusantes ab Episcopo cogi possunt!*" It is an outrage on good sense and religion, and (though not intended) an undeniable insult to Innocent III., one of the greatest Pontiffs that ever sat in St. Peter's chair, and to the pre-eminently "great" Council of Lateran.

We might easily and would willingly say more on this subject, which so closely touches the honor of the Church and her priesthood, but we forbear. What has been said, has been said from a sense of duty, because on this point the writer has more than once heard, to his astonishment and horror, expression given to opinions or principles, that are, to say the least, lax, uncanonical, and derogatory to the good name and honor of Christ's Immaculate Spouse and her royal priesthood, of which He himself was founder and model.

It may seem to some readers that we have dealt too severely with Dr. Smith's book; but this is not true. We have merely taken the liberty of disagreeing with those who would like to see it adopted as a textbook in our ecclesiastical seminaries. And we have endeavored to show

cause for our opinion. The reasons which militate against the adoption of Dr. Smith's book are two. In the first place, text-books for clerical students should be written in Latin. Secondly, all text-books, especially those which treat of sacred science, should be models of accuracy, which Dr. Smith's work is not. This is not saying that the book is grossly or throughout inaccurate. By no means; but the inaccuracies, of which a few have been pointed out, are of some importance. They are not trifling errors of detail, but such as trench to some extent on the principles of Church Law. Nor are we blind to the merits of the author. Dr. Smith deserves, and should receive at the hands of all, great praise for being the first in this country to give us a book of Canon Law. And the peculiar circumstances of our country only added to the difficulties of his undertaking. It is, therefore, not a source of wonder that he should have made a mistake occasionally. We ought rather to wonder and congratulate him, because in this new field of exploration his mistakes have been so few.

FINAL PHILOSOPHY; OR, SYSTEM OF PERFECTIBLE KNOWLEDGE ISSUING FROM THE HARMONY OF SCIENCE AND RELIGION. By *Charles Woodruff Shields, D.D.*, Professor in Princeton College; Member of the American Philosophical Society. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co. 1877.

Antagonisms between the opinions of many of the scientists and metaphysicians of the present age, and the belief of those who maintain the reality and truth of divine revelation have become so obvious and pronounced, and the resulting controversy is so injurious in its effects upon morals and religion, that every earnest and well-directed effort to dispel the confusion of ideas and expose the errors in which these antagonisms have their origin, merits sympathy as regards the object aimed at, even if it fails in accomplishing it.

We consequently opened Dr. Shields's book with the expectation that whether or not we might be able to agree with his statements and ideas, either in detail or as a whole, we would find in it much that would be worthy of high commendation. But the first sentence of the preface awakened apprehension lest, however valuable the work might be as a collection of valuable materials, it would effect but little as regards its main purpose,—the clearing the way for bringing human science into its proper normal harmony with the Christian religion.

The sentence referred to is as follows: "In the present age there has been a seeming conflict between science and religion; but their essential harmony may still be sought upon philosophical principles." The apprehension created by the last clause of this sentence was deepened as we read the author's chapter, "On the Relations of Science and Religion." We find in this chapter such statements as the following: "The scientific view of the universe and the religious view of the universe stand or fall together. Take either from the other and you would have but half the truth, and that half without logical support." . . . "Try to imagine religion completed without science, the one true God revealed in all the plenitude of His perfections, and you would still need as a rational counterpart of this revelation, such an illustration of His perfections as the different sciences alone can afford; celestial physics, to unfold His immensity, eternity, and omnipotence; terrestrial physics, to display His wisdom and omnipotence; and the psychical sciences to approve His holiness, justice, and truth." . . . "If your science without religion would land you in the absurdity of a creation without a creator, your religion without science would leave you with the abstraction of a creator without a creation."

Here are almost as many errors as there are sentences, errors going down to the lowermost ground on which the author's whole scheme of a reconciliation of the seemingly hostile interests of religion and science rest. Faith in this scheme of reconciliation has no office to perform, unless it be to hold revealed truths in the form of blind belief, until reason shall discover ways and means to explain and illustrate them. Religion in the mind of the author is something that cannot even be imagined to be complete without science. What then shall we say of the Apostles, confessors and saints of all ages? Saints Chrysostom, Jerome, Augustine had, it is true, the revelation of "the one true God," but groped in spiritual darkness for want of that "rational counterpart of revelation" which the "different sciences afford," and were unable to apprehend the perfections of God because "celestial physics, terrestrial physics, and the psychical sciences" were not yet sufficiently advanced to "unfold, display, and approve" those glorious perfections. So, too, St. Anselm, St. Bernard, St. Thomas Aquinas, St. Bonaventura, and St. Ignatius Loyola, devoting themselves to religion without a parallel culture of science, were left "with the abstraction of a creator without a creation."

It is not surprising that Dr. Shields, with this utterly false notion of the relation of religion and science, sneeringly refers to certain theologians as having "descanted upon the astronomical Psalms in the spirit of an ancient Hebrew peasant, as if the heavens declared no other glory than a spangled vault, and the firmament showed no higher work than a gorgeous canopy," and that in another passage he speaks of religion as "nursed in the cradle of science." Had Dr. Shields any actual knowledge of the works of a few even of the doctors and saints of the Middle Ages whose names he so glibly repeats (which he describes as a period when "religion was cultivated to the absolute neglect of science; a reign of superstition, tyranny, and barbarism during the dark ages of the Church"), he would have found in their writings evidences which he who runs may read, that men by faith can rise to conceptions of the perfections of God, higher, broader, deeper than the most advanced scientific knowledge joined with a rationalistic theology can possibly attain. Or did Dr. Shields comprehend at all the first elements of that divine revelation which Princeton professedly makes of such high account, he would know that "by faith we understand that the world was framed by the word of God; that from invisible things visible things might be made."

Dr. Shields's notion is that religion and science are two distinct but co-ordinate departments of human knowledge, on the same plane, to be pursued and cultivated in the same way, neither of them now perfect or complete, but to be developed and completed by the same processes of induction; in the one case by a study of the Bible, in the other by investigation of the natural world; that by the fuller development of both they will, in the course of time, come into a complete harmony with each other; and that in this way "the one last philosophy or theory and art of perfect knowledge" will be reached.

This is simply rationalism. It is scarcely necessary to say that it denies in effect the truth that faith, not the natural understanding of man, is the organ and means by which we apprehend supernatural truths. But in thus ignoring faith, Dr. Shields is consistent with the fundamental principle of Protestantism, which, professedly believing in Christianity, believes only so much as upon private criticism and its own judgment the individual mind is disposed to retain. For, human reason can only stand related to the revelation of God either as a critic or as a disciple in the presence of a divine teacher; the moment human

reason begins to criticize, to test, to examine, to retain, or to reject, it has ceased to be a disciple, it has become the critic; it has ceased to be the learner, it has become the judge.

Dismissing, with these remarks, from further consideration the false principle which rules the author throughout his whole work, we examine in what spirit he enters upon the execution of his undertaking. In his introductory chapter he says: "It will not be the province of this chair . . . to defend polemically any of the existing creeds by which the religious world has been sundered into various denominations. . . . We meet together on the high ground of our common Christianity, and are concerned for its defence against common foes, in the interest of truth as well as of virtue. . . . We may safely assume the leading religious truths and doctrines to be known and familiar, and limit ourselves to the simple task of showing their points of contact and correspondence with scientific facts and theories. To mingle the jargon of sects with that of the schools would but make worse confusion." This sounds broad and liberal. But when we examine how the author has carried out his profession into practice, it becomes apparent that the "high ground of a common Christianity" means simply Protestantism. According to Dr. Shields, the Church, during the first ages, endeavored to exclude all intellectual culture, and particularly philosophy. "The Apostles," he says, "had scarcely left the Church when there sprung up, in the unlettered class from whom the first Christians had been largely recruited, a weak jealousy of human learning, which, it was claimed, had been superseded in them by miraculous gifts of wisdom and knowledge. . . . As Christianity came in closer conflict with paganism, this spirit wellnigh pervaded the apologetics of the time. Philosophy of every kind was stigmatized as the source of all error. The Patristic type of Christian science has been likened to a twilight dream of thought before the long night-watches of the middle ages."

The utter misconception, not to say ignorance, of the whole posture of the Church during the first centuries of its existence, of which the expressions quoted are fair samples, exhibited throughout the work, is utterly astounding. But our wonder is dispelled when we examine the list of "authorities" on whom Dr. Shields relies, and the manner in which he has employed them. He has evidently gathered together all the condemnatory expressions, authentic or legendary, reported by popular second and third rate historians to have been uttered by ancient Christian writers against *pagan* literature, and cites them as evidence that the Church in the first centuries and onward opposed the cultivation of science and philosophy.

True, he mentions the names of a few respectable Protestants as having been consulted by him, among others Gieseler, Neander, and Schaff, but he evidently has made no real use of them, or he never could have framed so stupid a misrepresentation of "the Patristic type of science." As for Catholic and Anglican historians who have treated of this period, he does not seem to be aware of their existence. And, to cap the climax of absurdity, he even cites as a historical authority D'Aubigné, who has been discarded and denounced by intelligent Protestants themselves as an utterly untrustworthy "romancer."

As for religion during the Patristic Ages, extending according to Dr. Shields from the year 200 to 700, it simply passed through a process of constantly "deepening corruption," through "its rash alliance with the old philosophy." "All the issuing interests of this paganized Christianity could not but share in its hybrid character. . . . Its ritual was a mere medley of incongruous usages. The reign of the cross was a common

charm as well as a sacred rite ; the Lord's day was observed by imperial edict, as a day devoted to the god of the sun ;" . . . "and its (the Church's) polity was little more than a compact of churchly pride and civil rule." "The doctrines of St. John were sublimated into the abstractions of Plato; the Son of God was identified as the divine Logos of the schools; and the high mysteries of the Trinity, the Incarnation, and the Atonement, were couched under the abstruse distinctions of Metaphysics." Justin the martyr, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen, are named as having led the way in this process. "And thenceforward followed a line of Greek Fathers in the East, such as Eusebius, Athanasius, Basil, the two Gregories, Chrysostom, and the two Cyrils, who did scarcely more than consecrate the spirit of the Academy in the cloisters and councils of the Church."

These statements simply prove an utter incapacity on the part of Dr. Shields to understand the real work performed by the Fathers he has mentioned. Is it possible that he does not know that they protected and defended the true doctrine from corruption by Oriental and Greek pagan philosophy, the very doctrine respecting the Trinity and the Incarnation, which is held to and set forth, though in fragmentary and imperfect form, in the symbols of belief to which Dr. Shields professedly adheres—the "Westminster Catechism and Confession of Faith?" It is scarcely necessary here to point out what will be perfectly obvious to every intelligent discriminating reader, that Dr. Shields has confounded the notions of the ancient Gnostics with the doctrines of the great Fathers whom he mentions. Had he carefully read even Neander and Schaff, not to speak of his going back to original sources and studying the writings of the Greek Fathers, he would have been saved from this egregious blunder. As it is, his attempted portraiture of the Patristic Ages is simply a ridiculous caricature. The following sentences briefly summarize his notions of it.

Referring to "the age of the schoolmen," Dr. Shields is guilty of an amusing blunder in dating its commencement back as early as the seventh century. His whole account of the scholastic period is laughable. Regard for space allows us only to give a few specimens:

"In the age of the schoolmen, the truce existing between theology and philosophy gave place to a bondage in which the one grew so strong and the other so weak, that there was as little of fair strife as of free alliance between them.

"Theology in course of time grew strong enough to subjugate philosophy. It made the . . . traditions of the Fathers the sole pabulum of intellect, and the system of Aristotle a mere framework to the creed of Augustine."

Dr. Shields's narrative of the process by which the enslavement of the intellect "was gradually made more and more complete by 'the schoolmen'" is in the highest degree entertaining. We can only quote a few specimen sentences:

"Anselm of Canterbury, the second St. Augustine, announced its leading principle by placing faith before knowledge, and confining reason within the bounds of revelation. Peter Lombard, the Master of Sentences, narrowed still more the circle of free thought by putting the authority of the Church above that of Scripture, and digesting the conflicting opinions of the Fathers as the only problems of right reason; and Alexander of Hales, the irrefragable Doctor, rendered the thralldom of the intellect complete by systematizing the patristic traditions, or sentences, with the Aristotelian logic, and condensing them into the first Summary of Theology."

This needs no comment. It evinces more than Bœotian ignorance of the real work performed by the writers referred to. The following is equally remarkable:

Then after the human intellect had become thus entirely enthralled, "came the crowning period of scholasticism in the thirteenth century when its grandest doctors flourished. Albert the Great, the Universal Doctor, wrought the whole Aristotelian system of philosophy into the theological encyclopædia, with a voluminous erudition which amazed his age. Thomas Aquinas, the Angelical Doctor, distilled the huge learned compound into brilliant syllogisms, with a transcendent genius which dazzled all Europe, and made him the very idol of the schools. Duns Scotus, the Subtle Doctor, proceeded to evaporate the distinctions of Aquinas, before thousands of students, in a jargon which defies modern comprehension; and a host of other great Doctors, with lofty titles, the Enlightened, the Profound, the Sublime, the Perspicuous, the Solemn, paced the same beaten walk of the Stagyrice round about Zion."

This, doubtless, was intended to be very polished sarcasm. It seems to us rhetorical nonsense.

"Philosophy," according to Dr. Shields, "during all these centuries could only succumb to theology. . . . Her whole domain had been fenced out of the Church as mere profane learning, or invaded only to be conquered, until every province was reduced to the most abject subservience. . . . In Logic, the dialectic of Aristotle was indeed used, but used only upon the set problems of orthodoxy. In Physics, except so far as they could be used in the Church cyclopædia, there remained nought but the forbidden arts of magic and sorcery. With logic thus debased into sophistry, with metaphysics swallowed up in mere dogmatic divinity, and with physics left growing wild beyond the pale of the Church, it was not strange that each of the sciences became overrun with the rankest weeds of superstition and error."

It would be interesting (yet interesting only as noting the aberrations of a mind misled by errors, as to the real relations of divine revelation and human science) to follow Dr. Shields through other portions of this work. But we have no space left in which to do it.

The book is penetrated throughout with a false idea, and one that is most pernicious in its effects. According to Dr. Shields, a right understanding of the truths of revelation will never become possible until human science shall have made its last discovery and uttered its last word. This is simply the essence of rationalistic unbelief. Yet Dr. Shields seems to be entirely unaware of it.

POINTS IN CANON LAW (claimed to be): opposed to some of Rev. Dr. Smith's views of Ecclesiastical Law, as now applied to the United States of America. A reproduction of a series of articles contributed to the "Catholic Universe," newspaper of Cleveland, Ohio, by Rev. P. F. Quigley, D.D., Professor of Canon Law, etc., in St. Mary's Seminary, Cleveland, Ohio. Cleveland (M. E. McCabe), 1878, pp. 55.

This, as indicated on the title-page, is a revised edition of some articles which appeared originally in the *Cleveland Catholic Universe*. The Rev. Dr. Quigley has studied carefully the matter of which he treats, and writes forcibly and convincingly. We think he has succeeded in proving all the chief points that Dr. Smith's book has given him occasion to discuss. In some few places, however, a somewhat milder tone would not have interfered in the least with the strength of his argument. Some of the questions that he discusses and the errors that he impugns are no light matter. For example, according to Dr. Smith's theory, neither our bishops nor our priests are bound by the decrees of the Bal-

timore Councils. Our bishops may obey or disregard them, as may suit their pleasure or convenience; and priests are always free to appeal to Rome against any bishop who should attempt to enforce the Baltimore decrees. This is going too far, and is scarcely respectful to the Holy See, which has commanded that "these decrees be observed inviolably by all whom they concern," viz., by the bishops and priests to the American Church. Is this a mere empty formula, meaning nothing; or is it the sincere expression of the will of an authority that we regard as supreme? Or is Rome in the habit of giving "commands" which bishops may disobey as they please, and which if they enforce they are in danger of being called to account and perhaps rebuked for it? Yet nothing short of this is contained in Dr. Smith's fanciful theory. Rome has always desired, and earnestly desired, that the Baltimore decrees should be observed; and recent indications point unmistakably to the fact, that she now intends to take positive steps to enforce their observance. This will be a practical condemnation from the highest source of this novel opinion, which Dr. Smith seeks to introduce into our schools. We never heard the opinion expressed before, save by some priest who was restive under justly incurred censure. That a drowning man should grasp at this pitiful straw is intelligible enough, but that a grave professor and priest in good standing should entertain this error and recommend it to the belief of others is something rather strange.

Rev. Dr. Quigley enters into a good deal of learned and interesting discussion on several other subjects, such as simple removal from pastoral charge, suspension *ex informata conscientia*, the law of the "Imprimatur," and other matters, amongst which is the Tridentine decree "Tametsi," and which on his showing applies to seventeen dioceses within the territory of the United States. In other words, there are full seventeen of our dioceses, in which the legislation of the Fathers of Trent against "clandestine" marriages holds good to the same extent that it does in Catholic Europe. Dr. Quigley holds that the laws of the Index apply here as much as they do in the Old World, and supports his opinion with plausible arguments. Its spirit unquestionably, if not its letter, is as binding in Baltimore or New York as within the precincts of the Holy City.

The author maintains another position of which we are not quite so sure, though we do not care to give it a positive denial. He thinks that the American bishops, if they think it expedient, can introduce the parochial system into the country, *i. e.*, change the pastors of churches from *amovibiles* as they are, into *parochos perpetuos*. We have some doubts about this. It is certain that resident bishops, that is, who take their name from the See in which they live, and even Vicars Apostolic, may in missionary countries be really and truly ordinaries. But we are not sure that they can, therefore, *ex potestate ordinaria*, introduce the parochial system where it never existed before. The example of England, where, on the restoration of the hierarchy, the co-operation of the Holy See was thought necessary, and was consequently invoked and obtained, would tend to prove the contrary. What we have stated is based on the "Council of Westminster," and the documents contained in it. The change would be so important that on the score of propriety alone the Holy See should be consulted. What the author alleges about the erection of parishes in Canada by Episcopal authority, will depend a good deal on two questions: First, is Canada a missionary country? And, secondly, supposing it to be such, was the erection of these parishes a recent event, or did it take place soon after it was colonized by the French? If Canada be a "missionary" country, its ecclesiastical rela-

tions with Rome will be found to be conducted through the channel of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide. If not, they will be through other congregations. To ascertain these facts would solve the difficulty, or rather would reduce the argument to its true value.

It might be further remarked, for the sake of perfect accuracy, though the error is not one of much importance, that the "Instruction" transmitted to the Bishop of New Orleans by the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda in the year 1824, is not now published for the first time. It was printed four years ago by Rev. Dr. Smith, in his *Notes on the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore*. New York, 1874 (Appendix, p. 452).

The pamphlet of Dr. Quigley will do good amongst our students of Canon Law; for these discussions, when conducted in the proper spirit, can only tend to elicit more fully the truth. And we have no doubt that Dr. Smith himself will be glad to see others entering the field, in which he justly claims to be a pioneer, even though their work consist mainly in correcting the errors he may have committed on his first voyage of discovery.

MANUAL OF UNIVERSAL CHURCH HISTORY. By the *Rev. Dr. John Alzog*, Professor of Theology at the University of Freiburg. Translated, with additions, from the ninth and last German edition by F. J. Pabisch, Doctor of Theology, of Civil and Canon Law, and Rev. Thomas S. Byrne. Volume III. Royal 8vo., pp. 1092. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co. 1878.

This is the third and concluding volume of Alzog's Church History, a book which has acquired great reputation not only in Germany, but also in France and Italy, where it has been made known by translations. It is not necessary to share all the author's opinions in order to admit his great learning and his impartial character as a historian. He is hard, and we fear unjust, to the memory of Leo X. But even this error, such as it may be, is only a proof that he does not allow himself to be swayed by partisan feeling. Dr. Alzog's indication of his sources, or what is called the *literature* of each section, is one of the most excellent features of the work. Yet in a book destined for students, not only ripe but unripe, it would have been well to pass some judgment on each book and set it down in its proper category. To give an example: when the author speaks of Calvin's Life by Bolsec, Audin, Paul Henry, and others, how is the reader to know which of them it will be most desirable for him to consult? How is he, without a word of caution, to know the panegyrist from the impartial historian? The work of Bolsec, no matter how true, is bitter. Henry (whose work, it might have been added, was translated into English by Dr. Stebbin) is only a blind admirer, who can find nothing to blame in the murderer of Servetus. Audin is a sprightly pamphleteer, though on a large scale. It might not have been amiss to add, that there is in English a remarkably (though not perfectly) impartial Life of Calvin by an Anglican, John Dyer (London, 1850).

Archbishop Purcell prefaces the volume with an introduction, in which he pays a graceful tribute to the zealous labors of the two translators. And certainly they deserve great credit for the patience and fidelity which they have brought to their work, and for the additions with which they have enriched their version. But in a book of this kind everything should be as perfect as possible. There are some blemishes which may and ought to disappear in another edition. We speak not only of a few misprints, such as "Ascolti" for "Accolti" on page 33 (the same error disfigures more than once the American edition of Audin); we allude rather to some phrases which are very good idiomatic expressions, but

scarcely in keeping with the dignity of a Church History, as on page 802 and elsewhere. There are also some words, such as "divulgence" (page 121), which can scarcely be called English. On page 275 the Calvinist Poltrot, assassin of the Duke of Guise, is called "a Calvinist in religion, a nobleman by birth, a craven by instinct, and a coward by nature." We do not feel inclined to credit this redundancy of words to Alzog. Not having his ninth German edition, we have consulted the eighth, but do not find it there. The value of the work is enhanced by a good index, and by the geographico-ecclesiastical maps which have been added by the translators. They have done well in giving our students and scholars, for whom only it is intended, a valuable manual of Church History in an English dress. For ordinary readers, and the greater portion of the laity, the translation of Darras will answer better, because it is a book not so learned, but which will conduce more to their edification.

HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, FOR THE USE OF SCHOOLS. By *John R. G. Hassard*, author of "Life of Archbishop Hughes," "Life of Pius IX.," etc. With an Introduction by the *Right Rev. J. L. Spalding, D.D.*, Bishop of Peoria. New York: The Catholic Publication Society Company. 1878.

In regard to the efforts made by Catholics in the United States to counteract the effects of a purely secular system of education, by establishing and maintaining over against it a distinctively Christian and Catholic system, there is nothing which is more important in contributing to the success of that effort, and nothing which carries with it more encouragement to hope for its ultimate success than the numerous text-books for schools, that of late years have been prepared and published by Catholic writers. As long as Catholic schools, however numerous established and however numerous attended by pupils, have to use, for want of better text-books, geographies, histories, and works upon natural philosophy and metaphysics, prepared by non-Catholic or anti-Catholic authors, so long those schools will labor under a serious disadvantage. However vigorous and well informed the teachers may be in Catholic schools who have those branches of study under their immediate charge, and however vigilant and careful they may be in correcting the misstatements, and often the gross perversions of truth which abound in these books, it is almost impossible for them to entirely obviate their evil effects.

Especially is this the case with history. A wrong statement in regard to historical facts, a discoloration or wrong collocation of them, or a wrong inference drawn from them, if allowed to remain uncorrected, may produce uncertainty, confusion, or absolutely erroneous impressions in the pupils' minds, creating doubts where there should be no doubt, and in other ways seriously interfering with the intellectual and spiritual status of those in whose minds these erroneous impressions have been allowed to find lodgment.

But if this danger exists even where there is no conscious and deliberate intention to deceive, and where historical writers *mean* to be impartial, and are not so because of the effects of unconscious bias, it is tenfold greater where, as is the case with the immense majority of non-Catholic historical writers, they entertain positive prejudices against the Catholic religion, and suppress or misrepresent occurrences and events, and shape their statements to accord with their prejudices.

This fact and the necessity of guarding against this has not escaped the notice of Catholic prelates and others who have been diligently and

zealously laboring to establish a full and complete system of Catholic education, and especially of parochial Catholic education in the United States. Of late years Catholic publishers have brought out many text-books on various subjects, designed specially to meet the wants of Catholic schools. But a truly impartial epitome of the history of the United States, and one that does full justice to Catholics as regards the part they have taken in the settlement and building up of our great country, has been, until the publication of the work before us, an unsupplied want.

We therefore warmly welcome this work, and rejoice that the task of preparing it has been undertaken and ably performed by the accomplished writer whose name it bears. It is one of the most important contributions that has yet been made to our Catholic school literature. It is admirably adapted to its purpose—that of a school text-book. The narrative is condensed, yet lucid, continuous, and interesting; the style clear and simple; the description of events graphic.

DE RE SACRAMENTARIA. Prælectiones Scholastico-Dogmaticæ quas in Collegio SS. Cordis Jesu ad Woodstock maxima Soc. Jesu studiorum domo in Fœd. Americæ Sept. Statibus habebat A.D. MDCCCLXXVII–VIII. *Æmilius M. De Augustinis*, S. J., in eodem Collegio Theol. Dogmaticæ Professor. Libri duo priores. Woodstock, Marylandiæ: Ex officina typographica Collegii. 1878. Large 8vo., pp. 755 of text (and xlii. of Analytical Index).

This is the third volume of the magnificent theological course issued by the Jesuit professors in the College of Woodstock. It is from the pen of the Rev. F. De Augustinis, one of the Theological Faculty of that institution. It is based on the same excellent method that has been adopted in the treatises already published by F. Mazelli, which is a happy blending of the scholastic element with the purely dogmatic or controversial. This, for many reasons, could not be done in the courses of the theology taught in our ordinary seminaries. F. De Augustinis has admirably filled up in his volume the outline of theological teaching which he has proposed in the handsome little preface prefixed to his work.

We heartily commend the book to all professors in seminaries, and to all our clergy who desire, as they should, to continue their theological studies, not only to refresh, but to enlarge the knowledge acquired during their seminary education. One most excellent feature is the “Index Analyticus” at the end, which is no dry catalogue of chapters and propositions, but an “analyse raisonnée” of the entire contents of the volume. In fact, it will be found to be a most readable and satisfactory compendium of the whole work. We shall return to this book in our next number.

PICTORIAL LIVES OF THE SAINTS, with Reflections for Every Day in the Year, compiled from “Butler’s Lives” and other appropriate sources, with a Preface. By *Rev. Edward McGlynn, D.D.*, Pastor of St. Stephen’s Church, New York. Published with the approbation of His Eminence the Cardinal Archbishop of New York. Large 8vo., pp. 312. New York, Cincinnati, and St. Louis: Benziger Bros. 1878.

There is nothing more adapted to reclaim the wicked and encourage the good to perseverance than the perusal of the *Lives of the Saints*. The Bible, no doubt, is the holiest of books, but is beyond the capacity of most persons, and unless when read with due subordination to the authority of Christ’s Church, the only lawful guardian and interpreter of Scripture, instead of a source of living water too often becomes deadly poison. But the *Lives of the Saints* are suitable for every class of readers, and set forth the teachings of the Gospel more vividly and

efficaciously for all, learned as well as ignorant, than the mere dry perusal of the Holy Book itself. This is not a question of dignity or intrinsic worth, but of practical usefulness. Our Catholic children, servants, and illiterate peasants who know their catechism, and who willingly read or listen to the reading of the *Lives of the Saints*, know more about the spirit of the Gospel than thousands of learned divines who have grown gray in poring over the Bible.

The cuts that adorn the book are commendable enough, though not of the highest order, and Dr. McGlynn has added a brief but appropriate preface.

HISTORY OF THE MIDDLE AGES. Adapted from the French of *Rev. P. F. Gazeau, S. J.* With Review Questions added. New York: The Catholic Publication Society Co. 1878.

Modern civilization has its roots back in the Middle Ages. Its real nature and character cannot be understood without an acquaintance with the Middle Ages, and though those ages are constantly referred to, yet there is no period of the world's history that is more frequently utterly misrepresented and more generally misunderstood. Different portions of it, particularly of late years, have been treated by Catholic historians, refuting the travesties and caricatures that under the name of histories have been published by Protestant writers. But the treatises are usually too lengthy and too scholarly and profound for popular use. What has been wanted was a compendium written from a Catholic standpoint, confined to the chief occurrences and events of the Middle Ages, for popular reading and for study in schools.

This want the volume before us supplies. Commencing with the death of Theodosius the Great in 395, and closing with the fall of Constantinople in 1453, it succinctly but clearly sketches the movements of the Church and of civilization during this period of time, the rise and progress of the different nations and dynasties and kingdoms of Europe, and the most important events in their history.

A CATECHISM OF THE HISTORY OF IRELAND: ANCIENT, MEDIEVAL, AND MODERN. By *Rev. James J. Brennan.* New York: Thomas Kelly, Publisher. 1878.

As the title of this work indicates, it divides the history of Ireland into three eras. Each of these is subdivided into two, making in all six periods, viz., the Traditionary, Heroic, the Ages of Irish Literature, and of the Danish wars, the Struggle against the English kings in Catholic times, and, finally, that against Protestant Rule.

The history of Ireland ought to be interesting to every one. No people on the face of the earth have passed through more numerous or more striking vicissitudes, none have borne up more manfully against adverse influences and shown more enduring vitality, none have exhibited stronger and deeper attachment to their country and religion; no people have exerted, from time to time, a more important influence upon other nationalities than have the Irish people; and that influence not only seems not to be passing away, in our own times, but widening and increasing.

The little work before us is an elementary work, and primarily designed for schools, yet within its pages is condensed a clear though succinct account of the leading incidents and events in the history of Ireland. We commend the book as the best compendium of the history of Ireland, in the form of question and answer, that we know of.

LIVES OF IRISH MARTYRS AND CONFESSORS. By *Miles O'Reilly, B.A., LL.D.* With additions, including a History of the Penal Laws, by *Rev. Richard Brennan, A.M.* New York: James Sheehy, Publisher, 1878, 8vo., pp. 751.

A glorious record of the martyrs of a nation, which is eminently a nation of martyrs and sufferers for their faith. These are her true heroes, of whom any people might be proud, and constitute Ireland's greatest glory. Oh that her mock heroes and pseudo-patriots would learn the lesson of true heroism from these records! The author was very competent to write about these things, for he is a hero and has the spirit of a martyr in him, as he proved by going to Rome with the intention of shedding his blood in defence of our Holy Father against the hordes of Garibaldi, and by the gallantry of his conduct at Spoleto and elsewhere. He brings his history down to the reign of George II., but F. Brennan continues it down to our times. It is strange that neither of them should mention F. Christopher Holiwood (a *Sacro Bosco*, as he was sometimes called), an Irish Jesuit, and native of Dublin, who suffered imprisonment under Elizabeth, and was banished by James I. Some account of him may be found in Oliver's Collections.

CHRISTIAN PERFECTION. The celebrated work of Father Alphonsus Rodriguez, of the Society of Jesus. Adapted to General Use. Two volumes in one. New York: P. O'Shea. 1878.

In the form in which this admirable book was originally prepared and published it was intended for the use of *Religious*. Many parts of it are consequently inapplicable to persons living in the world. Yet other portions of it are eminently suited to instruct and edify them, to guard them against evil, fortify them against temptation, confirm them in holy purposes, and deepen and intensify their devotion. A very general desire has been accordingly felt for an edition of this admirable work, which by omitting those portions specially intended for Religious would form a book in size and arrangement suitable for ordinary Christians, and which the clergy might put into the hands of the faithful generally.

The merits of Rodriguez on *Christian Perfection* are too well known to require any panegyric at our hands. It is to be hoped that this condensation of it for the use specially of the laity will obtain wide circulation and general use. To those who aspire to a higher Christian life, though living in the world, we cannot commend it too warmly.

SONGS, LEGENDS, AND BALLADS. By *John Boyle O'Reilly*. Boston: The Pilot Publishing Company. 1878.

J. Boyle O'Reilly is one of the most popular of our Irish American writers. The volume before us reveals the reason why. The poems it contains have been composed and thrown off at such moments of leisure as the author could command from weightier occupations. They bear the impress of the Irish mind, its quickness of fancy, warmth, and fervor.

It strikes us that Mr. O'Reilly is happiest in his tales of the sea and legends of Australia. The latter are weird and wild, and form, both in their imagery and incidents, a vivid picture of life in that distant, strange, and scarcely known continent, which is just emerging into civilization.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

LECTURES ON MEDIAEVAL CHURCH HISTORY, being the substance of Lectures delivered at Queen's College, London, by *Richard Chevenix Trench, D.D.*, Archbishop of Dublin. 8vo., pp. . New York: Charles Scribner & Sons. 1878.

It would have been wiser and better if the author had allowed these Lectures to remain buried in the memories of the young ladies to whom they were first delivered. The garb of impartiality in which they have been insidiously dressed only makes them more insincere and dangerous to the mass of readers. Of these Lectures we shall have something to say in our next, and also of the following book:

THE HOLY BIBLE, according to the Authorized Version A.D. 1611, with an Explanatory and Critical Commentary and a Revision of the Translation, by *Bishops and other Clergy of the Anglican Church*. Edited by F. C. Cooke, M.A., Canon of Exeter. New Testament, Vol. I., St. Matthew, St. Mark, St. Luke. Pp. 472. New York: Charles Scribner & Sons. 1878.

NOTES ON THE RUBRICS OF THE ROMAN RITUAL regarding the Sacraments in general, Baptism, the Eucharist, and Extreme Unction, with an Appendix on Penance and Matrimony. By *Rev. James O'Kane*, late Senior Dean of St. Patrick's College, Maynooth. With the approbation of His Eminence John Cardinal McCloskey, Archbishop of New York. 8vo., pp. 527. New York: P. O'Shea, Publisher. 1878.

Mr. O'Shea reprints from the third Dublin edition. The work is classical in its kind, and was sent to Rome before publication for examination and approval. Hence, independently of its intrinsic value, it is the safest of guides for every priest.

EPISTLES AND GOSPELS. For the Sundays and Holidays. Boston: Thomas B. Noonan & Company. 1878.

A very useful book for the laity, published with the *imprimatur* of the Most Rev. Archbishop of Boston. It consists of the Gospels and Epistles of the Missal for Sundays and holidays, in the approved English translation.

A HISTORY OF THE GROWTH OF THE STEAM-ENGINE: By *Robert H. Thurston, A.M., C.E.*, Professor of Mechanical Engineering in the Stevens Institute of Technology, Hoboken, N. J.; Member of Institution of Engineers and Shipbuilders of Scotland, Société des Ingénieurs civils, Verein deutsche Ingenieure, Oesterreichischer ingenieur und architechekten Verein; Associate British Institution of Naval Architects, etc., etc. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1878.

MANUAL OF SACRED CHANT. Containing the Ordinary of the Mass, the Psalms and Hymns of Vespers for the entire year, and Compline according to the official edition of the Sacred Congregation of Rites. Together with a Collection of Latin Hymns and Prayers suitable for different devotions. By *Rev. Joseph Mohr, S. J.*, *Permissu Superiorum*. Ratisbon, New York, and Cincinnati: Frederick Pustet. 1878.

A COLLECTION OF HYMNS AND DEVOTIONAL CHANTS. For the different seasons of the year, the Feasts of our Lord, of the Blessed Virgin, of the Saints, Low Masses, etc. Arranged for four mixed Voices. By *Rev. Joseph Mohr, S. J.*, with the approbation of his Superiors. Ratisbon, New York, and Cincinnati: Frederick Pustet. 1878.

SHADOWS OF THE ROOD; OR TYPES OF OUR SUFFERING REDEEMER, JESUS CHRIST, OCCURRING IN THE BOOK OF GENESIS. By *Rev. John Bonus, B.D., Ph. et LL.D.* Graduate of the University of Louvain, Priest and Missionary Apostolic. Baltimore: John Murphy & Co. 1878.

LIFE OF MME. DE LA ROCHEFOUCAULD, DUCHESS OF DOUDEANVILLE, FOUNDER OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS OF NAZARETH. Translated from the French. Boston: Houston, Osgood & Company. 1878.

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THIS BOOK MAY NOT BE
TAKEN FROM THIS ROOM

